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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

WESLEYAN METHODIST MISSIONARIES IN RUPERT'S LAND

1840-1854: EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

AMONG THE NATIVE POPULATION

by



MICHAEL OWEN

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1979

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries in Rupert's Land 1840-1854: Educational Activities Among the Native Population" submitted by Michael Owen in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

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ABSTRACT

The effectiveness of Christian missionaries among the Indian population of North America has often been questioned. On one hand, it is argued that, with few exceptions, the missionaries of the various Christian denominations have failed to achieve their objectives which included the amelioration of spiritual, moral, and material conditions of the aboriginal population. On the other hand, defenders, although not necessarily apologists, of the Christian mission societies portrayed the activities of the missionary among the "heathen" and "uncivilized" Indian as generally effective and "beneficial". The Missionary taught the Indian the values, virtues, and habits of a Christian and European life-style according to their idealized version of that society. This thesis has attempted to select elements of each interpretation of the contact situation between Christian missionaries and the North American Indians and to portray a more accurate account of the relationships between the British Wesleyan missionaries and the Rupert's Land Indians.

The purpose of this thesis was to research the conditions surrounding the activities and roles of the missionaries of the British Wesleyan Methodist Society while engaged in evangelizing the Natives of Rupert's Land between 1840 and 1854. More specifically, this thesis asserted that the activities and roles of the Wesleyan missionaries were educational. Defining education as the entire process by which a culture transmits itself, the thesis described as educational the Wesleyan missionaries methods while attempting to impose their conception of European civilization and Protestant Christianity on the Native and fur trade clients. Each and every role of the Wesleyan missionary can

be perceived as a means to instruct all clients in the habits, virtues, and values of the "new culture".

However, the effectiveness of the Wesleyan missionaries cannot be ascertained accurately. The transmission of European culture to the Indian peoples of Rupert's Land had but started by 1854 when the Wesleyan mission enterprise was transferred to the Canadian Methodist Conference. The effectiveness of each missionary varied according to location, band, and Hudson's Bay Company support. The greatest "advances" occurred at Norway House where the effort was most concentrated. Overall, one cannot provide an accurate assessment of the effectiveness of the Wesleyan enterprise.

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ABBREVIATIONS

C.M.S.

Church Missionary Society

C.M.S.A.

Church Missionary Society Archives,
Microfilm, Cameron Library, University
of Alberta.

G.I.A.

Glenbow-Alberta Institute Archives,
Calgary, Alberta

W.M.S.

Wesleyan Missionary Society

W.M.M.

Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, London

W.M.N.

Wesleyan Missionary Notices, Canada
Conference

CHAPTER I

Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries' Educational Activities

Among the Rupert's Land Indians: An Introduction

The education of "heathen" populations in colonial territories was a major preoccupation of Great Britain's Protestant churches in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. One of these territorial possessions, the Hudson's Bay Company Rupert's Land territories, and its native population became increasingly important to the missionary arms of the Church of England and the Wesleyan Methodist Society during the mid-decades of the nineteenth century. The impact of the Wesleyan Methodist Society and, more specifically, its missionary agency, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, on the native inhabitants of Rupert's Land between 1840 and 1854 provides the main theme of this thesis. The study will focus on the educational processes among the aboriginal peoples which engaged the Wesleyan missionaries during this period. These activities will be discussed within the parameters set by the social and political climate of Rupert's Land and the traditions of Wesleyan Methodism.

To set the stage for an analysis of the educational activities of the Wesleyan missionaries in Rupert's Land, it is necessary to outline briefly the setting, the people, and the activities as suggested by the key words in the title. This introductory chapter will consider the following: some of the geographical and chronological limitations on the missionary field in Rupert's Land, the nature of the Wesleyan movement (excluding theological issues), the nature of the Indian clientele, and particularly the impact of the role of the missionary in educational activities as an agent of cultural and

social change. Then an assessment of the historiographical literature on the Wesleyan Methodist missions in Rupert's Land will precede a statement of this study's hypothesis.

The scope of the study was limited chronologically. Chronologically, the decade and a half, 1840-1854, provides the historian with a compact period to study the impact of an evangelical denomination on the scattered inhabitants of a vast territory and its relationship with a frequently hostile yet helpful economic enterprise. The year 1840 marked the arrival in Rupert's Land of the "heroic band" of Wesleyan missionaries and 1854 marked the formal transfer of control of the then relatively inactive Wesleyan missions in Rupert's Land from the British Wesleyan Methodist Society to the more vigorous Canadian Conference of Methodists. This transfer of authority produced a marked change in mission personnel and an expansion of the mission establishment in the Saskatchewan district of Rupert's Land.

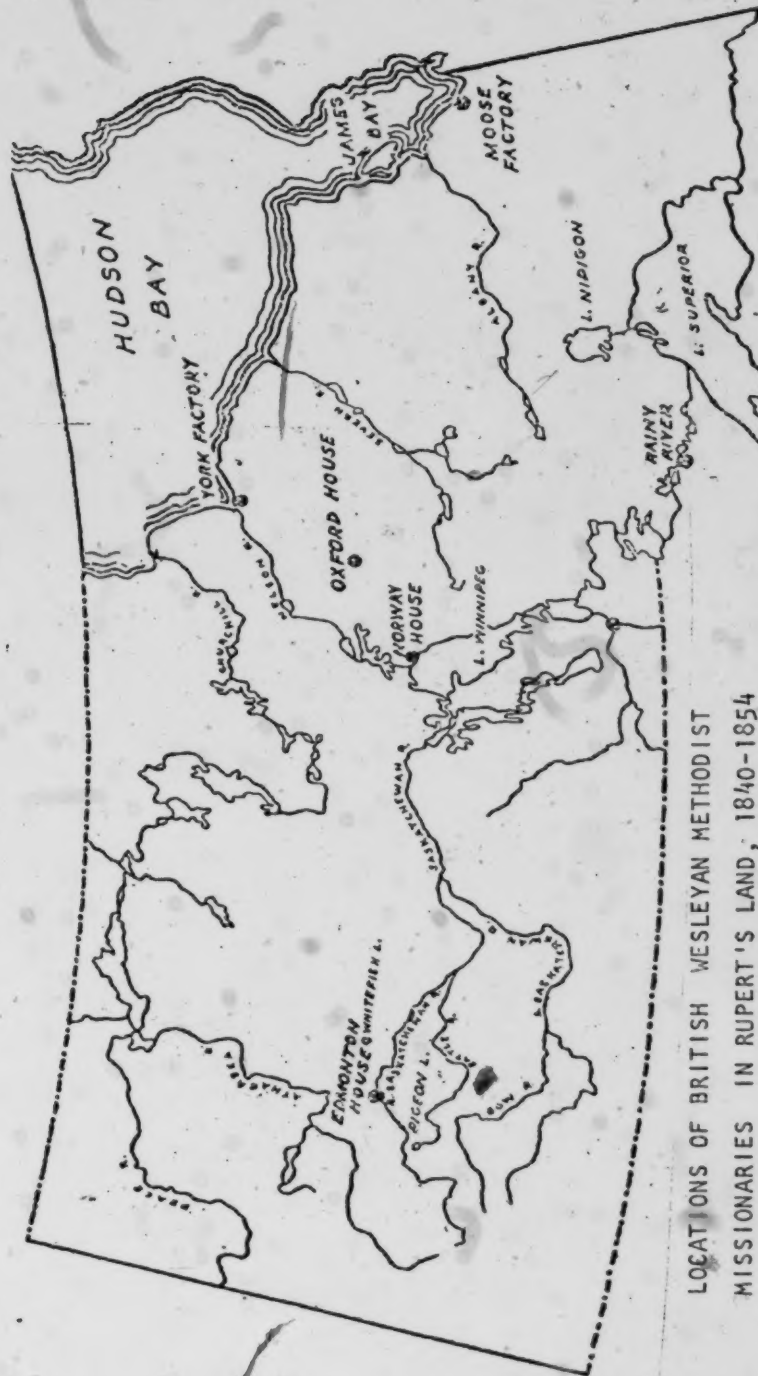
The Wesleyan Missionary Society dispersed four ordained missionaries and two native assistants to "strategic" fur posts of the Hudson's Bay Company chosen as sites for missions by Sir George Simpson, Governor of Rupert's Land. Norway House was the headquarters of the mission and its superintendent as well as a major distribution centre for the fur trade. Moose Factory, formerly a minor distribution centre for the fur trade at the bottom of James Bay, remained a traditional gathering centre for the natives involved in the trade in that region but Moose Factory had lost much of its economic importance to establishments on Lake Superior. Lac la Pluie (Rainy

3

Lake), situated on the east-west supply route of the fur trade between Canada and Red River, had long standing importance as a contact centre for traders, trappers, tripmen, and Indians. Fort Alexander was to be connected with the Lac la Pluie mission and had been maintained as a Company fort and trading post to discourage and prevent native migration to the Red River settlements. The Hudson's Bay Company, to attract potential migrant and assist the Company's interests, desired a mission establishment at this site. Fort Edmonton, the Company's distribution post and supply centre for the Athabaska region, south-western plains, and eastern Rockies, was the fourth mission centre and provided great opportunities to the resident missionary to contact a great diversity of bands and tribes including the Blackfoot, Peigan, Blood, Assiniboine, Beaver, Cree and Chipewyan peoples.

The Hudson's Bay Company territories of Rupert's Land in the mid-nineteenth century provided an excellent field for evangelism by a missionary society like the British Wesleyan Missionary Society. Rupert's Land, chartered in 1670 to the Company of Adventurers of England trading into the Hudson's Bay, popularly known as the Hudson's Bay Company,¹ had an approximate population of 100,000 native Indians in the mid-nineteenth century,² as well as a small population of European and Scottish settlers at Red River, mixed blood settlers and hunters, and Company officers and servants. Although Company regulations expressed a commitment to the spiritual and literary education³ of the servants' children and the Christianization of neighbouring bands of Indians, efforts were sporadic and ineffectual until 1818 and 1820. At this time the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec and the Anglican Church Missionary Society dispatched mission-

MAP 1



LOCATIONS OF BRITISH WESLEYAN METHODIST
MISSIONARIES IN RUPERT'S LAND, 1840-1854

From J.H. Riddell, Methodism in the Middle West (Toronto, 1949), p. 13.

FIGURE ONE

British Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries and their Locations
in Rupert's Land, 1840-1854

James Evans:	Norway House	1840-1846
Robert Rundle:	Fort Edmonton	1840-1848
George Barnley:	Moose Factory	1840-1847
William Mason:	Lac la Pluie	1840-1843
	Norway House	1843-1854
Peter Jacobs:	Fort Alexander	1840-1841
	Norway House	1841-1842
	Lac la Pluie	1843-1851, 1852-1854
Henry Steinhauer:	Lac la Pluie	1840-1843
	Norway House	1843-1852
	Oxford House	1852-1854

aries to Rupert's Land to evangelize the native inhabitants and the gathered settlers. Given the small number of missionaries and their attachments to the Red River colony, relatively few of the hinterland Indians and mixed blood population were affected by the new religious teachings and therefore remained attached to the native belief structures except in a few instances. The field was open to new efforts for the Christianization of the inhabitants.

A Society such as the Wesleyan Missionary Society with a history of evangelism for the less fortunate classes, whether in the new urban, industrial towns of Great Britain or the primitives forests of the Atlantic colonies of Great Britain or Upper Canada,⁴ would respond to this opportunity of an invitation by the Hudson's Bay Company to evangelize the "children of the forests" of Rupert's Land. This the Wesleyan Missionary Society did in 1840 when it dispatched three English missionaries, an experienced missionary formerly with the Indians of Upper Canada, and two Canadian Indian assistants to Rupert's Land.⁵ William Mason, George Barnley, and Robert Rundle were the young inexperienced ordained missionaries from England.⁶ James Evans, originally from Hull, England, superintendent of the Wesleyan missions to Rupert's Land, had taught school in Upper Canada and had been a missionary for the Canadian Methodists at Rice Lake, Guelph, and Lake Superior.⁷ Peter Jacobs, an Ojibeway, after conversion to Methodism, was an active native assistant to Rev. Dr. Alder, Superintendent of Wesleyan Indian Mission in Upper Canada, and a missionary to the Indians at Mesezungeng, U.C.⁸ Also, Henry Steinhauer, the native catechist to William Mason at Lac la Pluie and Norway House, had converted to Methodism in Upper Canada, was trained in the United

United States and at Victoria College, U.C., and had laboured as a school-master and assistant at the Credit Mission.⁹ (see figure 1)

Rupert's Land was suited for the evangelizing activities of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. The Hudson's Bay Company may have wished to circumvent the expanding Roman Catholic missions in the plains of Rupert's Land.¹⁰ Also, the Hudson's Bay Company apparently believed that the Wesleyan Missionary Society would be a more docile and pliable agency¹¹ to employ in the various tasks than the Church of England Church Missionary Society whose agents had proven troublesome at the Red River settlements. Like other monopolistic trading companies in Great Britain in the nineteenth century, The Hudson's Bay Company was under pressure from the Aboriginal Protection Society to ameliorate the conditions of the Indian population. However, the Company wished to find a mechanism "to stop Indian migrations to Red River, to curtail the summer fur hunt, to relieve the Company of the expense of caring for the destitute and starving Indian, and to create a cheap and docile labour force."¹² These were some of the tasks expected of the Wesleyan missionaries by the Hudson's Bay Company.

The Wesleyan missionaries also had to minister to diverse client groups. The European officers of the Company, the servants or employees of the Company, the children of these two groups, and the Indian population composed the various listeners of the Wesleyan missionaries. The children of the Company officers were, for the most part, mixed blood offspring of marriages between European officers and Indian women. The servants' children, often referred to in the missionary journals as fort children, were also the offspring of marriages à la façon du pays. The Indian population in the

missionary literature consists of many bands and tribes as well as populations that were not "pure" Indian. The various missionaries did not distinguish between the Indian in the Rossville mission who may have had a heritage of contact between the Company and the Home Guard Cree, the lowland Swampy Cree of Lac la Pluie or the plains and mountain bands of the Blackfoot, Assinboine or Rocky Mountain Cree bands. All were Indian or native to the missionary. All were heathens. All required great amounts of evangelization to become Christians. This thesis will retain the missionaries' terminology when describing or referring to the various client groups.

It was these "heathen" populations that had attracted the enthusiastic attention of James Evans and Rev. Dr. Alder in 1839.¹³ The roles of the missionaries with the "heathen" population must be considered within the context of native-European contact and interaction. Among the northern bands and those of the south-western plains there was little contact with the fur trade and many bands were experiencing their first sustained contact with European and mixed blood traders, fur trade social and economic structures, and the missionary enterprise. Moreover, the south-western bands of the Blackfoot Confederacy where cultural life did not appear vastly altered nor dominated by the imperatives of the fur trade economy during this period, substantial changes were probably occurring in the socio-economic structures of tribal organization that would contradict appearances of outward stability and comparative economic and political independence of the constituent bands.¹⁴ Indeed, direct and indirect contact with European fur trading enterprises and agricultural settlements undermined the ability of native populations to sustain their own belief systems in the face of alternative European metaphysical

systems.¹⁵

These relationships with European enterprises and indoctrination in European religious and political ideologies fostered a dependence on European materials and technologies among many bands, particularly those located near the Red River settlements and major fur trading posts. John Foster, N. Jaye Goossen, Robin Fisher, Cornelius Jaenen, Arthur Ray, and Mitsuru Shimo illustrated that some elements of native societies perceived European habit, technologies, and metaphysical systems as positive and desirable acquisitions.¹⁶ For example, some of the Rocky Mountain Cree wished to adopt an agrarian, Christian life-style in 1846 prior to the time that Rundle thought that they were prepared for the transition from a wandering to a sedentary existence. These Cree, similar to the Red River Muscogoes, demonstrated that they had accepted some of the major tenets of Rundle's message, that is Christianity and pastoral civilization.¹⁷

In areas of extensive contact with European traders, settlers, and missionaries, other native groups had demonstrated similar changes in life-style and metaphysical systems. Many Indian bands and the mixed blood or country born groups of the eastern prairies and fringe woodlands as well as bands south and west of James Bay and Hudson Bay had experienced sustained social, economic, and political association with European agents of the fur trade for approximately two hundred years. As a result of fur trade contact, the native inhabitants and mixed blood populations had encountered pressures to change their religious and social beliefs from native systems to the European structures. With the arrival of Roman Catholic,

Church of England, and Wesleyan missionaries into Rupert's Land in 1818, 1820, and 1840 respectively, efforts to alter the native belief and social systems became both overt and earnest. However, in the decades after 1840 the evangelizing efforts of the denominations became far more aggressive than the earlier exemplar modes of John West and David T. Jones, partly due to the competitive race for souls between the C.M.S. and the W.M.S., and, more intensely, between the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions.

Patterson and Ray¹⁸ argued that much of the traditional cultures and economic modes of life had been destroyed or substantially altered through contact with the European fur trade economy by the mid-eighteen twenties. According to Shimp, whereas in the subsistence economy the native belief systems including "common cultural values of seniority, courage, autonomy, sharing, and generosity" had adequately served to integrate the socio-cultural systems,¹⁹ the subsequent undermining of their economic base entailed social disintegration and great alterations in their metaphysical systems.²⁰ Hence, the younger generations turned to the European belief structures, and perhaps social organization as well, as being more explanatory for the immediate socio-cultural conditions that they were experiencing. Thus, part of the native population may have searched for a relevant belief system to adequately explain the changing socio-economic conditions and, therefore, included elements of both the European religious and social thought as professed by the fur trade and missionary personnel with native beliefs. Many bands actively sought out European missionaries by mid-nineteenth century specifically for these reasons.

The missionary responded to these overture

aim was the amelioration of the spiritual, moral, and material conditions of the native populations. Therefore, when the Wesleyan missionaries travelled to Rupert's Land in 1840 they had two roles. On behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, they were to help maintain control over the vast territories of Rupert's Land. On behalf of the British Wesleyan Methodist Society they were to extend to the "heathen" Indians, mixed bloods and fur trade personnel the benefits of the Christian religion and to the native inhabitants the means for their spiritual and temporal amelioration.²¹

To assist one's understanding of that society in which the missionaries were to operate the works of Alexander Ross, Arthur Ray, Jennifer S.H. Brown, and Sylvia Van Kirk are helpful.²² With the exception of Ray, these authors illustrated the changing social and cultural structures of European society in Rupert's Land in the overall context of the fur trade. Ray demonstrated the impact of changing fur trade standards on the economic role of the Indians.²³ Frits Pannekoek, William Brooks, Gerald M. Hutchinson, and Arthur N. Thompson have analysed the relationships of the Methodist and Anglican missionaries and the fur trade society, and are often critical of the former.²⁴ General studies of the development of the fur trade during this period abound and some useful sources include E.E. Rich, A.S. Morton, and J.S. Galbraith.²⁵

Although the missionaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society were never completely integrated into the fur trade society during this period, the roles that they performed reflected the society in which they resided and the more idealized society they sought to establish if only further in the future. To the W.M.S. missionaries,

including the native catechists and schoolmasters, education of the native inhabitants in the habits of a Christian life was, and had to be, a deliberate "act of will" in much the same way as Bernard Bailyn described the efforts of eighteenth century school reformers in colonial America as being:

a continuous enterprise to indoctrination and persuasion. . . [Education], so central to their purposes, was deliberate, self-conscious, and explicit. The once-automatic process of transfer [of culture] would continue only by dint of sustained effort. Education was an act of will.²⁶

As architects and builders of a new ideal society based on the Christian religion and pastoral existence in Rupert's Land, the Wesleyan missionaries provided particular experiences appropriate to the native population for their new statuses in that idealized state. The underlying goals of such instruction required that the missionary not only teach the "barbarous" natives the principles and beliefs of Christianity but to civilize them, or teach them the "technology, customs, . . . and niceties of European society."²⁷

These educational roles of the Wesleyan missionaries were essentially processes of cultural adaptation and social change. As representatives of the British evangelical tradition and the humanitarian concern for the conditions of the aboriginal peoples, the missionaries wished not only to spread the message of Christianity but also to transmit to the Indians and to the European population of Rupert's Land the habits, skills and morals of British civilization in an idealized form.

Therefore, each missionary was engaged in educational activities

while sermonizing, teaching in the classroom, catechizing, instructing the natives in the skills of agricultural production, habits of industry or domestic skills, and conversing with the native leaders and listeners. These activities were conducted in formal and informal settings and were attempts to transform the native and fur trade cultural processes to align with an unspecified but more ideal British culture, and to transmit and preserve the British culture and Christian religion in the wilds of Rupert's Land.²⁸ Education, then, was not narrowly defined as schooling. The Wesleyan missionaries did not perceive the school as an instructional institution set apart from their religious, moral, agricultural, or domestic institutions but as an essential element or tool in the spiritual and material transformation of the frontier population. These educational aspects of their duties permeated the missionaries' overall relationships with all whom they encountered.

Like other nineteenth century evangelical missionaries, the Wesleyans perceived their educational duties as deliberate devices to persuade their listeners to lead a particular life-style. In order to live a moral and Christian life there must be a conscious process of overcoming the immoral and evil tendencies inherent in man's nature.²⁹ John Wesley's teachings and charges to his followers focussed on this concern for the evil nature of man and the necessity of individual redemption.³⁰ The mission establishments of the W.M.S. were engaged in the purposeful exposition of man's degenerate natural existence as evidenced by the native cultures of Rupert's Land and the backsliding tendencies exhibited among the European officers and servants of the Company. Thus, the rectification of these

conditions through instruction in the Christian habits of civilized life was a major educational role of the Wesleyan missionaries.

The various roles of the W.M.S. missionaries are to be included in this broader definition of education. For example, Elizabeth Graham described the multi-faceted role of the missionary in Upper Canada between 1784 and 1867: "They performed many roles as missionaries, doctors, schoolmasters, politicians, etc."

They often learned the language and participated in the community life with the Indians, being part of the community, but belonging to the outside social systems. The performance of many roles was an important factor in successful innovation, giving the missionary authority in many spheres of the social system. Successful performance of the "missionary role" did imply the performance of multiple roles, and of necessity, these included educational and economic as well as religious roles.³¹

Although the missionaries of Upper Canada operated under quite different circumstances than those in Rupert's Land, the expansion of their roles to include not only schooling but also economic, administrative and spiritual activities is similar to the approach of this study. Hence, educational functions would include: instruction of all classes of inhabitants, encouragement to nomadic natives and mixed bloods to settle and cultivate the land as well as instruction in domestic pursuits, and the reorganization of social structures.

The impact of the missionaries while performing these various roles with the Indian, mixed blood, and fur trade populations is difficult to assess. The impact was related to the effectiveness of the missionaries in achieving their stated aims of Christianization of the Indians, mixed blood and fur trade clients, the improvement

of the moral and material conditions of the clients, and the attraction of the Indian and mixed blood clients to an agrarian way of life. Therefore, effectiveness of the Wesleyan missionaries depended on the change of beliefs, habits, and life style of the native populations and fur trade employees. Yet it is difficult to assess the effectiveness of the missionaries in these areas. Objective criteria such as the number of conversions of Indians and mixed bloods to Wesleyanism or the number of persons who actually settled on the land have only limited reliability as indicators of inward change, nor do these criteria inform one as to the reasons for the change in beliefs or life style. Unavailability of written documents by the native convert, native settler, or fur trader explaining the reasons for their alteration of habits or reactions to the missionaries prevent the historian from accurately assessing the impact of the missionaries.

The historiography relating to the roles of the missionary in Rupert's Land contain both positive and negative assessments. The critical arguments validly suggest that the "benefits" to the native peoples with the arrival and work of the mission personnel might have been minimal. For example, Shimpo described the disintegration of native religions as well as social and economic structures as the primary responsibility of the missionary yet doubted the acceptance by the native peoples of the missionaries' religious message.³²

Arguments of this type, however, tend to perceive the "transmutation of culture" as a one-way process in which only the native culture and religion were altered,³³ instead of a reversible and

dynamic process. On the other hand, Patterson, Ray, and Foster,³⁴ although diverging greatly in methodology, scope, and purpose, illustrated that native cultures were not the only value and belief systems altered by contact between European fur trade and missionary agents and Indian peoples. The degree to which European inhabitants of Rupert's Land altered their life styles in response to contact with either native peoples or the contingencies of the prairie region was vast. Foster illustrated the impact of the Home Guard Cree on the social structure of the fur trade post during the formative years of the fur trade period;³⁵ Van Kirk demonstrated the integration of native women and native cultural habits into the fur trade posts' society.³⁶ Pannekoek described the impact of the missionary on the European elements of Red River and Moose Factory societies between 1820 and 1870.³⁷ Moreover, it is evident from other scholars as well as the writing of the missionaries themselves that the life-style of the missionary, the methods of evangelism, and perceptions of fur trade and native societies were greatly altered with continued contact with those societies.

In contrast to the critical anthropologist's view of the general missionary endeavours in Rupert's Land most histories of mission activities do not question the effectiveness and extent of the missionary experience. Most histories of the Wesleyan experiment in Rupert's Land from 1840 to the early twentieth century are generally sympathetic interpretations, descriptions of mission personnel, or attempts to sanctify certain persons. Holdsworth and Findlay in their large study of the aims, methods, social and political organi-

zation, and leading men of the Wesleyan Missionary Society provided scanty material on the early Wesleyans in Rupert's Land.³⁸ Sanderson and Sutherland's studies of Canadian Methodist missions provide fragmentary but glowing descriptions of the work of Evans, Rundle, Jacobs, and Steinhauer.³⁹ Mrs. F.C. Stephenson and J.H. Ridde]] attempt to place the Methodist missions in Canada and Rupert's Land in their social and political context but instead describe the general activities and "successes" of the missionaries.⁴⁰ None of these volumes provided a critical discussion of the relationship of the Wesleyan missionaries and the fur trade or considered the native response to the missions except where favourable.

The "whiggish" interpretations of the advancement of the Wesleyan missions trace the triumphant march of the gospel over the "heathenish" darkness of Rupert's Land. The trials, tribulations and setbacks experienced by the various missionaries are ignored, dismissed, attributed to the jealousy of others, or illustrated as necessary obstacles needed to be overcome in the test of the faith and willingness of the missionary and converts to place their lives in the hands of God.⁴¹

In the nineteenth century, biographical literature filled an important place in the reading of the general public. The Methodist Church did not fail to use this medium to paint inspirational portraits of its leading missionaries illustrating the Church's role in the opening of the north-west, and in the spreading of the gospel. Many of these tracts related the sudden conversion of the Indian bands to the new religion:

. . . Immediately [on the arrival of the Wesleyan missionaries] the Indians showed the most lively and intense interest, and seemed to comprehend and approve the plan of salvation by death of Christ. The enthusiasm existing in the breasts of a few men in the work of Christianizing the Indians spread rapidly, and scattered bands heard with great joy the good news of salvation through the Great Master of Life, Jesus Christ.⁴²

particular instances of a missionary's life, travels, relationships with natives, or spectacular events such as Evans' invention of the Cree syllabics.⁴³

The nineteenth century and early twentieth century historical and biographical literature on the Wesleyan missionaries of Rupert's Land did not describe and rarely mentioned the assistance provided to the missionaries by the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. Generally the relationship between the Company officers and the Wesleyan missionaries are favourably reported. Only the conflict of personalities between George Simpson and James Evans is described extensively, usually to the praise of Evans and the disparagement of Simpson.⁴⁴ However, the recent work of Pannekoek, Van Kirk, Brooks, and Hutchinson have closed, although not entirely, this gap in the research on the relationships between the Wesleyan missionaries and their clients in the north-west.⁴⁵

Generally, the secondary sources of the nineteenth and early twentieth century on the Wesleyan missions in Rupert's Land have not filled Warren's description of the direction that "church" histories of mission work should follow:

Research into the history of the past, even the relatively recent past, demands of the historian the protracted and never ending task of distinguishing between pious legend and fact, never forgetting that belief in a pious

legend may itself be a not inconsiderable fact. What is true for historical writing as a whole is true for the story of the expansion of Christianity.

If . . . the interpreter of missionary history is to achieve this end [that the missionary movement offers some clues to many modern developments], he should insist that Christian missions must always be studied in their political, social and economic context. . . .⁴⁶

For the historian of Wesleyan missions in the north-west the two sources which will facilitate such an interpretation and provide data relating to the operations of the missions, the attitudes of the missionaries to their work, associates, and clients as well as the responses of client groups are the journals, reports, and correspondence of the various missionaries and the records and correspondence of the Hudson's Bay Company officers. Although Jaenen suggested that the 'missionaries could be expected to report on successes, even if their private correspondence revealed their disillusionment and resistance on the part of the 'receptients', because continued financial support of the mission depended on 'progress'. . . ,⁴⁷ the many volumes of correspondence provide the historian with many insights into the social relationships of the fur trade society. Also, the correspondence published in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine and Wesleyan Missionary Notices provide the interpretation of success of missions which was available to the public.

The information held in these archival sources cannot be dismissed as entirely subjective with respect to the native clients the perceptions of the Indian, the fur trader, and the success of the mission as well as the response of the

Indian to the missionary message. Although the nineteenth century missionary "believed unquestionably in the superiority of western society and civilization",⁴⁸ and its beneficial attributes for the partially civilized European, mixed blood, and Indian population of the western plains, their accounts of life on the prairies and in the woodlands reflect a certain perception of the Indian and mixed blood societies. The missionaries saw themselves not as the tools of a colonizing nation but as agents of the spiritual and philanthropic missions to the sorrowful heathen and unfortunate European settler on the new frontier. In this context, they applied their alternatives to what they perceived to be the negative living conditions of the western populations while attempting to prevent the negative conditions of life that were present in the British industrialized state.

Thus, many agriculturally oriented settlements proposed and initiated by the Wesleyan missionaries in Rupert's Land were initially perceived as attempts "to create 'model' communities of an idealized version" of eighteenth century Britain yet to eliminate the causes of poverty and distress experienced by the industrialized state while utilizing the "industrial" techniques of the British economy to improve the efficiency of the missions to the heathen. Soon the agricultural settlements, often supplemented with controlled hunting and fishing activities, became the prototype community for the Christianization and civilization of the non-European participants in the fur trade. Moreover, in the future, the non-commissioned servants would be able to retire to a sedentary and agricultural existence after their usefulness to the trade had expired. Under

the exemplary influence of the ministers of the Gospel they would hopefully be not only civilized but a committed and loyal population as well.

Furthermore, the letters and journals of the missionaries would be expected to profess a general spirit of altruism as is indeed found in the public and private letters of most. However, in the latter papers the historian finds many references to the unhealthy influences - material, moral and spiritual - of the European culture on the aboriginal and mixed blood peoples of the prairies. The losses or rather defeats experienced by the missionaries are also documented with searing analyses. The original letters present much information relating to the state of the establishments, the relationships between denominations, the weather, and the health of the incumbent. A major portion of the journals fully describe the conversations held by the missionaries and their assistants with prospective converts, the conditions under which the individuals experienced conversion or accepted Christ as their saviour, the actual conditions in the churches during the services, and the prevailing attitudes and deportment of the Christian and "Pagan" Indians. The journals and letters are resplendent with death-bed conversions and troubled minds, for Evans, Rundle, and Mason rarely failed to make note of these important events.

Publication of church related historical research in the 1960's and 1970's reflect the above trends. However, as less partisan scholars researched the archives of the churches new information and novel interpretations of missionaries' activities have become available. These developed the following insight made in 1912:

We shall see, coincident with the tracing of the footsteps of the pioneers of the cross, the slow and still imperfect, awakening of the conscience of the white man with regard to their responsibilities towards the native peoples; . . . (emphasis added).⁴⁹

No longer are the missionaries and the missionization processes perceived as absolutely good and advantageous to the native peoples. Conflicts between the missionary and the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company are now highlighted. Disputes between missionaries and denominations are no longer hidden as skeletons in a closet. The human errors of the "bright lights", the heroes, have surfaced above the realm of conjecture. In this respect Pannekoek, Thompson, Brooks, Hutchinson and Pettipas⁵⁰ have provided the modern researcher with many new insights into the religious world of nineteenth century Rupert's Land.

Although such new critical research has not completely displaced the devotional literature recounting the activities of the nineteenth century missionary, the non-critical literature does have some acknowledged usefulness by disseminating information on the mission personnel and their works. Such information and their interpretation is part of the empirical evidence necessary for what E.H. Carr calls "the reconstitution of the past."

The reconstitution of the past in the historian's mind is dependent on empirical evidence. But it is not in itself an empirical process, and cannot consist in a mere recital of facts. On the contrary, the process of reconstitution governs the selection and interpretation of facts: this indeed, is what makes them historical facts.⁵¹

Hence, this thesis will try to synthesize the conflicting views on the educational roles of the Wesleyan missionaries among the Rupert's Land Indians. The nuanced interpretation provided will suggest that many of the activities of the Wesleyans had some positive consequences for the native population rather than strictly following the general critical line of argument that suggests most, if not all, of the activities of the European cultural agents were negative experiences for the aboriginal peoples.

In part, this perspective may be due to the focus on educational rather than the total complex of diverse social interactions between the missionary, fur trader, and Indian, although education has been broadly interpreted. This thesis suggests that the Wesleyan missionaries did attempt to provide alternative modes of life based on certain religious and social principles which would have lessened the natives' dependence on the vagaries of the fur trade as well as a sound understanding of these principles of Christian religion as interpreted through the writings and teachings of John Wesley. However, the methods of the various missionaries and the subsequent effectiveness at the different missions varied considerably.

To illustrate these roles of the Wesleyan missionaries in Rupert's Land between 1840 and 1854, this thesis is structured in the following way. The general context of the fur trade and Wesleyan movement will be described in Chapter Two. Within this context the Christianizing and civilizing roles of the Wesleyan missionaries will be analyzed in Chapter Three. Then the fourth chapter will focus specifically on the schooling activities of the various missionaries at the different mission stations in Rupert's Land. A brief summary of the arguments will be presented in the fifth chapter.

References

¹For details concerning the origins and the history of the Hudson's Bay Company consult the following, which are but a small sampling of the many works on that concern: E.E. Rich, The Fur Trade and the North-West to 1857 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967); A.S. Morton, A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71 (London, 1939); and E.E. Rich, The Hudson's Bay Company, 1660-1870, 3 vols. (Toronto, 1960).

²G.G. Findlay and W.W. Holdsworth, The History of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, 5 vols. (London: The Epworth Press, 1921), Vol. I, p. 466.

³The Roman Church had sent out its first Missionaries to Red River in 1818 and the Hudson's Bay Company appointed Rev. John West as Company chaplain in 1820. West had received appointment as missionary to the aboriginal population on behalf of the Anglican Church Missionary Society as well. For more details see Monoly Lupul, "Education in Western Canada Before 1873", in Canadian Education: A History, eds., J.D. Wilson, R.M. Stamp, and L. -P. Audet (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970), pp. 241-250; C.J. Jaenen, "Foundations of Dual Education at Red River, 1811-1834", Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, No. 21 (1964-65), pp. 35-68; and John West, The Substance of a Journal During a Residence at the Red River Colony (London, 1824). Outside the Red River colonies efforts to evangelize the natives were few. However, some of the chief officers at the fur posts did attempt to provide regular religious and moral training for their families, the Company servants and the natives. Three examples of such conscientious officers were J.E. Harriott of Rocky Mountain House, Donald Ross of Norway House and James Hargrave of York Factory. The Hudson's Bay Company Northern Council and London Committee expressed some interest in the religious education of children attached to the various posts by passing numerous, if non-effective, regulations including "Regulations for Promoting Moral and Religious Improvement". See Lupul, "Education in Western Canada Before 1873", pp. 247-248; Margaret A. McLeod, ed., The Letters of Letitia Hargrave (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1937), "Introduction".

⁴See Findlay, The History of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, Vol. 1, pp. 23-80, 199-224, 231, 453-4, 456, 466-471.

⁵Ibid., p. 466.

⁶For the story of the travels of the little Wesleyan band to Rupert's Land see G.M. Hutchinson, "Introduction", The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, ed., H.A. Dempsey (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta and Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1977), pp. xviii-xxii, 2-21; Mrs. Frederick C. Stephenson, One Hundred Years of Canadian Methodist Missions, 1824-1924, 2 vols. (Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church and The Young People's Forward Movement, 1925), pp. 84-5.

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⁸ Fred Landon, "The Letters of Rev. James Evans, Methodist Missionary", Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, xxviii (1932), p. 56; and Peter Jacobs, The Journal of the Rev. Peter Jacobs, Indian Wesleyan Missionary, from Rice Lake to the Hudsons' Bay Territory, and Returning. Commencing May, 1852. With a Brief Account of His Life, and a Short History of the Wesleyan Mission in that Country (New York, 1857), pp. 1-15; Stephenson, One Hundred Years, pp. 67, 83, 84, 88.

⁹ John McLean, Henry B. Steinhauer, his work among the Cree Indians of the Western Plains of Canada (Toronto, 19--), pp. 10-16.

¹⁰ Glyndwr Williams, ed., London Correspondence Inward from Sir George Simpson, 1841-1842 (London, 1973), pp. 24-5.

¹¹ Frits Pannekoek, "The Rev. James Evans and the Social Antagonisms of the Fur Trade Society, 1840-1846", in Religion and Society in the Prairie West, ed. Richard Allen, Canadian Plains Studies 3, (Regina, 1973), p.2.

¹² Findlay, The History of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, vol. I, p. 466; J.S. Galbraith, "Introduction," London Correspondence Inward from Sir George Simpson, 1841-1842, p. xlviii, suggested that Simpson perceived the Roman Catholic missionaries as a political threat.

¹³ Hutchinson, "Introduction," The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, pp. ix-xiii; W.H. Brooks, "Methodism in the Canadian West in the Nineteenth Century", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972, Ch. I.

¹⁴ Rich, The Fur Trade and the North West to 1857; Morton, A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71; A.S. Morton, "The Early History of Hudson Bay, Canadian Historical Review, 1931; A.S. Morton, Sir George Simpson, Overseas Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company (Toronto, 1944).

¹⁵ Carr, "Historical Survey," Chapters LLL, LV, V.

¹⁶ Ibid., Ch. VI.

¹⁷ John Foster, "The Home Guard Cree and the Hudson's Bay Company: The First Hundred Years", in Approaches to Native History in Canada: Papers of a Conference held at the National Museum of Man, Ottawa, 1975, ed. D.A. Miuse, National Museum of Man Mercury Series, History Division Paper No. 25 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1977), pp. 49-61; N. Jaye Goossen, "Missionary-Indian-Trader: The Triangular Nature of Contact in Rupert's Land", Ibid., pp. 30-43; Robin Fisher, Contact and Conflict: Indian and European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978), pp. 123-145; Ray, Indians in the Fur Trade, pp. 217-19; Mitsuru Shimpo, "Native Religion and Socio-cultural Change: The Cree and Saulteaux in Southern Saskatchewan, 1830 to 1900" in Religion in Canadian Society, eds. Stewart Crysdale and L. Wheatcroft (Toronto, 1976).

¹⁸ E. Palmer Patterson, The Canadian Indian: A History Since 1500 (Toronto, 1972), pp. 91-105; Ray, Indians in the Fur Trade, pp. 217-219.

¹⁹ Shimpo, pp. 130-131, 135-137.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Hutchinson, "Introduction", The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, pp. xlv-xv, xvi.

²² See Raymond Williams for a discussion of the pastoral ideal of society which the Wesleyan Missionaries may have propagated. The definitions of education employed in this discussion include:

- 1) Education is both formal and informal learning - teaching processes, not just schooling.
- 2) Education is a process of cultural adaptation which is dynamic yet transitory.
- 3) Education is a process for the preservation and transmission of cultural patterns.

For a discussion of this latter definition specifically relating to North American plains Indian culture during this period see K.J. Carr, "A Historical Survey of Education in Early Blackfoot Indian Culture and its Implications for Indian Schools", unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Alberta, 1968.

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²⁶Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Forming of American Society - Needs and Opportunities for Study (New York, 1960), p. 9.

²⁷Elizabeth Graham, Medicine Man to Missionary: Missionaries as Agents of Change Among the Indians of Southern Ontario, 1784-1867 (Toronto, 1975), p. 1.

²⁸See William Brooks, "Methodism in the Canadian West in the Nineteenth Century", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972, Chapter 1; and H.F. Mathews, Methodism and the Education of the People, 1791-1851 (London, 1949), pp. 182-85, 80-2.

²⁹Findlay, Vol. 1, pp. 23-35.

³⁰Graham, p. 1. Emphasis added.

³¹Shimpo, op. cit.

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³⁴Foster, "The Home Guard Cree", op. cit.

³⁵Sylvia Van Kirk, "'Women in Between', Indian Women in Fur Trade Society in Western Canada", Historical Papers 1977 Communications Historiques, pp. 31-46.

³⁶Pannekoek, "The Anglican Church", op. cit.

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³⁸Findlay, Vol. 1, pp. 466ff.

³⁹Alexander Sutherland, The Methodist Church and Missions in Canada and Newfoundland (Toronto: Young People's Forward Movement for Missions, 1906), pp. 243-245; J.E. Sanderson, The First Century of Methodism in Canada, 2 vol. (Toronto, 1908), Vol. 1, pp. 414-417.

⁴⁰Mrs. F.C. Stephenson, One Hundred Years of Canadian Methodist Missions, 1824-1924 (Toronto, 1925), Vol. 1, pp. 83-90; J.H. Riddell, Methodism in the Middle West (Toronto, 1946), pp. 7-51.

⁴¹See Rev. John Semmens, The Field and the Work: Sketches of Missionary Life in the Far North (Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms, 1884), as an example of the triumphant writing which characterized nineteenth century narrations of missionary endeavours.

⁴²John MacLean, Life of James Evans (Toronto, 1890), p. 36.

⁴³ibid.; See below pp. 88-93.

⁴⁴Nan Shipley, The James Evans Story (Toronto, 1966).

⁴⁵Frits Pannekoek, "The Rev. James Evans and the Social Antagonisms of the Fur Trade Society, 1840-1846", in Religion and Society in the Prairie West, ed. Richard Allen (Regina, 1974), pp. 1-11; Brooks, op. cit., Chapter One and pp. 376-401; Rev. G.M. Hutchinson, "James Evans' Last Year", The Bulletin 26 (1977), and Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, XIX:1-2, pp. 42-56.

⁴⁶Max Warren, Social History and Christian Mission (London, 1967), p. 11.

⁴⁷ Cornelius Jaenen, "Missionary Approaches to Native Peoples", in Approaches to Native History in Canada, p. 7.

⁴⁸ Warren, pp. 36-57, provides an excellent discussion of the social and intellectual thought of mid-nineteenth century Church of England missionaries.

⁴⁹ S. Gould, INASMUCH: Sketches of the Beginnings of the Church of England in Canada in Relation to the Indian and Eskimo Races (Toronto, 1917), p. vii.

⁵⁰ Pannekoek, "Rev. James Evans", op. cit.; A.N. Thompson "John West: A Study of the Conflict Between Civilization and the Fur Trade", Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, XII; Brooks, op. cit.; Hutchinson, "James Evans' Last Year", op. cit.; Katherine Pettipas, "Introduction", The Diary of the Reverend Henry Budd, 1870-1875 (Winnipeg, 1975), pp. lx-x.

⁵¹ E.H. Carr, What is History? (London; 1973), p. 27.

CHAPTER II

Wesleyan Methodism in Rupert's Land Environmental Context

The Wesleyan Methodist movement in Great Britain had accepted John Wesley's description of his life's work: "I look upon all the world as my parish",¹ as a challenge. By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the ideals, sermons, hymns, and methods of John and Charles Wesley had spread with astonishing rapidity throughout the English-speaking world. Conversions to the populist sentiment of Wesleyanism had grown rapidly, had caused great anguish in the traditional Protestant Churches and, undoubtedly, had influenced similar revivals among kindred spirits in the Church of England. Thus, the assessment provided by Findlay and Holdsworth of the goal of the Wesleyan movement as world religious regeneration proved accurate: "The whole ethos and drift of this movement made for world-evangelism".²

The ethos of the movement engendered the desire among the Society's adherents to carry the message as well as the method to the less fortunate classes of the "civilized" states and to the "heathen" populations of the globe. One category of peoples that received the attention of the new evangelical Christian sect as prospective recipients of the new creed was the aboriginal peoples of North America. Therefore, in 1841, the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine announced that a new series of missions to North America's native peoples had been initiated, to the Indians of Rupert's Land.³ This chapter will discuss the social influences of these new missions to the aboriginal population of North America. More specifically, the discussion will consider the state of the "heathens" and its

challenge to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the methods of the missionary, the Wesleyan view of education, and the relationships between the W.M.S. and the Hudson's Bay Company, the de facto governors of the Rupert's Land territories.

The intent of the missionary enterprise of the Wesleyan Missionary Society to the aborigines may be considered educational. This intent is made clear in the announcement of the new missions to Rupert's Land. Despite the enthusiastic language, the editors of the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine did not hide from the observer the "degraded" spiritual and temporal state of the natives. The editors surveyed briefly the low state to which these peoples had been allowed to sink while in association with the servants and in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company. However, the editors heralded "a brighter day" which was "beginning to dawn upon the 'remnant that is left'".⁴ The benevolence of the Society of Friends called Methodists would ensure that the "benefits" of the knowledge of Christianity and habits of civilization would be carried to the "children of the forests". Their conditions, both spiritual and temporal, would be improved.

The men dispatched by the Wesleyan Missionary Society to carry the word of a "new life" to the "heathen" of Rupert's Land had no doubt about the purposes of their mission which were to be essentially religious in nature. In the journals and correspondence of Rundle, Evans, Mason, Barnley, and Jacobs the historian may find definite traces of the evangelism which permeated the spiritual and political thought of the British people in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries including the shifts which occurred as a result of the evangelical revival. This evangelism as documented by Somerwell, Stoughton, and Mathews⁵

was not a monolithic movement in the British Society or, in fact, in any one denomination but did influence the opinions of all levels of the British public from politicians and the nobility, to the mechanical classes.⁶ The British public assumed a greater moral obligation for the spiritual and material welfare of their less fortunate countrymen and, particularly, the pagan peoples who lived under the British flag in distant corners of the world.

The journals of the Wesleyan missionaries to Rupert's Land are written with an emotional pen, particularly on religious issues, which reflect this evangelism of nineteenth century Britain. An enthusiastic tone permeated all the entries relating to conversations with native peoples, conversions, sermons, the "progress" of civilization, and the "degraded" conditions of the Indians.

The educational or civilizing, christianizing, and schooling functions of the Wesleyan missionaries were carried out wherever and whenever the missionaries were in contact with the native population and, to a lesser extent, with the fur trade personnel. Whether in the pulpit, the field, the Indian camp, or the school the dictums on the habits, methods, and tenets of the new religion and progressive civilization were to be spread by all possible means. Since the spiritual message was so pervasive, it is possible to conclude that the methods of transmitting this information were educational. Moreover, John Wesley's teachings, writings, and sermons found in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine indicated that education was not merely the activity of training the intellect but the proper moral instruction of an individual in a civilized and Christian way of life. For example, Reverend John Davison, a contemporary Wesleyan commentator, defined education in the following

manner:

Education, properly understood, is that which prepares the young to become good men hereafter, and regulates their mind first, whilst it enlarges their ideas. It is that which instructs them to act as moral and religious creatures; to become acquainted with God and their Savior in the doctrines of the Christian faith; to understand their duties towards God and men ...⁷

In another treatise on education in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, its author noted that:

Secular instruction, in point of fact, relates to the various aspects under which the works of God are to be considered: not only, therefore, must it be accordant with the principles of the word of God, but incomplete without them. The Gospel seeks the salvation of the individual man; and as it is by sin that he is blinded and polluted, degraded and enthralled, that which is the plan of deliverance from it, devised by the wisdom, and carried into effect by the goodness of God, must, of necessity, directly tend to the enlightenment and purification, the true dignity and freedom of society at large. Irreligious education is false in principle, and therefore, not merely inefficient, but positively mischievous.⁸

For the British Wesleyan Methodist Society education was a religious and moral, as well as intellectual, enterprise. Education in its proper sense would rescue man from his original sin and from the clutches of darkness. Education was "uplifting" in every sense.⁹

However, among the heathen population scattered about Rupert's Land some methods of "education" would be preferred to others: for example, the itinerant circuit would be more suitable, adaptable, and efficient for evangelizing a wandering people than would an agricultural and industrial settlement approach. The use of the itinerant circuit as a means of proselytism had been embedded in the history of Methodism since its successful employment in the late eighteenth century by John Wesley and his associates and its great effectiveness among the

inhabitants, both European and native, of pre-Revolutionary America and in early nineteenth century Upper Canada.¹⁰

While all the Wesleyan missionaries in Rupert's Land practised itinerancy, only Rundle was exclusively a "circuit rider". Evans, Barnley, and Mason had permanent settlements to administer during their stay in Hudson's Bay territory. Evans had inherited the Norway House Indian settlement from the Hudson's Bay Company. The permanent settlements at Norway House and, to a lesser extent, Moose Factory were composed of native peoples who had in most cases long established familial and economic relationships with the Company. Hence, the missionary assumed the responsibility over the daily affairs of the inhabitants with apparent ease. Although Evans and Mason had stated that only "as Christianity took effect would [itinerancy] be supplemented and eventually superceded by settlement"¹¹ the actual conditions of Rupert's Land forced them to reverse the order to some extent. In their administration of the Indian villages, the Wesleyan missionaries indicated that settlement of indigenous peoples was the final, if not the immediate, goal of the mission experiment.

Part of the paternalism of the Wesleyan philosophy of improvement for the "heathen" aborigines, particularly the "coloured" peoples of the new world, was the belief that the one foundation necessary for the temporal improvement of the aboriginal populations was the Christian church and its teachings. It was assumed and confirmed by reports on native religious beliefs in Rupert's Land and on the Pacific Coast that the native religious systems were inferior and often the product of "childlike" imaginations and superstitions of the people.¹² The paternalism of Christian philanthropists found expression in the agricul-

tural ideal for permanent mission stations. Even "philanthropists" such as Alexander Ross, who was knowledgeable with respect to the Indian customs of North America, suggested agricultural settlements as the only means through which the temporal, and later spiritual, improvement of the Indian could occur.¹³ An agricultural station could be "beneficial" to the Indian in the following ways; assist the missionary in his evangelical task by providing the natives with a consistent supply centre, provide the natives with the habits and virtues of civilization, yet maintain the isolation of the Indian from the vices of "civilized" life, and prepare native catechists for the evangelization of their "heathen" brethren.

The mission could proliferate as "little companies of converted natives" carried messages of Christianity and civilization to wandering bands throughout the vast wilderness of the north west.

But such measures require patient and systematic following up, by the planning of school masters, the regular and close supervision of European missionaries, the training of the savages in industry and the elements of civilization, and their protection from the fraud and vile temptations practised on their childishness by unscrupulous white people.¹⁴

All the benefits to be derived from such Christian agricultural settlements indicate an aggressive paternal concern for the welfare and future of the native populations. However, the agricultural stations was the logical extension of the Wesleyan objectives in Rupert's Land and a necessity for the consolidation of preparatory evangelical activities conducted by the itinerant missionary. However, for Evans and Rundle, the agricultural mission station in Rupert's Land ought to follow the uplifting and instruction in Christian knowledge of the Indian,

not precede such instruction.

The missionaries did express misgivings about their activities while in Rupert's Land. Evans, forced to be an administrator and pastor rather than a circuit rider, thought that civilization should follow Christianization. Rundle, in his letters to the Home Society, described the pressures of the Indians for permanent settlements but qualified any request with the concern that he might be bound to such a station. Although he might recommend this form of mission station to some more advanced native populations Rundle cautioned that not all bands which desired such stations were "spiritually" prepared for the life on a permanent agricultural station. Barnley expressed similar concerns about the unprepared state of natives who wished to live on a religious station.¹⁵

Therefore, in Rupert's Land, there existed contradictions between the stated policy of the preferred method of itinerancy and the realities of existing settlements; between the purposes and aims of the Wesleyans and those of their clients; between the aims of the missions and the Hudson's Bay Company policies. These contradictions centred on the Wesleyan conviction that Christianity must come before civilization. This conviction placed a heavy emphasis on the itinerant method of evangelism rather than upon the agricultural settlement as an acculturation and indoctrination centre. The existence of permanent settlements at Norway House and Moose Factory caused Rundle, Evans and Barnley to direct their attention to the temporal condition of the native inhabitants as well as, if not before, their spiritual condition. Yet, the resident missionary, particularly Evans, was expected to travel about the surrounding territory evangelizing the bands wherever they might be found. This condition led to unsatisfactory progress in both fields.

Within the Wesleyan establishment in the Middle West, a fundamental contradiction between the stated methods and ultimate aims plagued the mission personnel from 1840 to 1846. The resolution of the conflict did not occur until the beginning of the retrenchment policy after 1846. This lessened tensions between the Company and the Society by the removal of Evans to answer charges as to inappropriate conduct before an ecclesiastical court in Great Britain.¹⁶

However, for the Wesleyans and the Hudson's Bay Company the contradictions between economic and religious policies were never resolved completely. Mason and the Company did arrive at a modus vivendi which lasted until, and beyond, 1854 when the Canadian Conference assumed responsibility for the operation and finances of the Rupert's Land missions. Inasmuch as these arrangements involved the retrenchment of the missions to a few stations: Norway House, Moose Factory, and Fort Alexander; the Company appeared to have dictated this modus vivendi. With the shrinking missions establishment and the constrained financial position of the missions, the enthusiasm of the messengers and the itinerant mode seemed to flag from 1848 to 1854. Norway House was operational but in poor condition.

The root of the problems between the Wesleyan Missionary Society agents and the Hudson's Bay Company can be traced to two fundamental sources: firstly, the underlying contradiction between the economic ends of the Company based on the exploitation of furs by native trappers and the "uplifting" aims of the Wesleyan missionaries as representatives of the humanitarian interests of the British public; and secondly, the personalities of the leading men and women. For the purposes of this thesis, only the first will be analyzed. Pannekoek, Van Kirk, and Brown

have initiated studies into the antagonisms between the personalities of Evans and his women folk, on the one hand, and Simpson, Ross and the women of the fur trade on the other.¹⁷

The evangelical message carried to the inhabitants of Rupert's Land by the Wesleyan missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century emphasized the love of God, devotion to his message and the means of individual salvation through the teachings of Jesus Christ, a personal religious conversion experience, and particular social habits. This message was to be carried to as many fur trade employees and "heathen" natives as possible. However, this message had particular consequences for the social, political, and economic organization of the fur trade society and the Indian peoples. Some of the missionaries, particularly James Evans and Peter Jacobs, and their superior, Rev. Dr. Alder¹⁸, may have known of the long term consequences that the Wesleyan mission would have had on the society of the north-west as a result of their association with the Methodist missionary endeavours in Upper Canada. While in Rupert's Land the remaining missionaries, particularly Barnley and Mason, learned of these consequences from their intimate dealings with the officers of the Honourable Company. Also, the possible results of the mission experience on the social and economic relationships of the fur trade were impressed on the missionaries as the restrictions on their movements¹⁹ became apparent. While in Rupert's Land the missionaries understood that the secular authority of the Hudson's Bay Company was absolute and that the Company represented powerful British economic interests. However, since the Wesleyan missionaries represented the spiritual concerns of the British people, they considered it the moral responsibility and the Christian obligation of the Company and its servants to provide

assistance to them in their religious activities. In turn, the missionaries would support the governmental authority of the Company insofar as its activities did not contravene the teachings of the scriptures. Therefore, when Evans, Mason, Barnley and Rundle travelled to Rupert's Land to unfurl the banner of Wesleyanism among the "pagan" Indians, the assistance of the Company was welcomed, indeed expected.

However, the previously uneven relationships between the Hudson's Bay Company and the agents of the evangelical Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) at Red River settlement did not bode well for the continuance of the initially harmonious relations between the Company and the Wesleyan missionaries. The eventual decline of these relationships was rooted in the basic divergence of purposes of the Wesleyan missions and the aims of the Company in the north-west. Arthur Ray's analysis of the Indians' position in the fur trade illustrated that the primary motivation of the European fur trade interests was profit.²⁰ Thus, Simpson altered location of posts, standards of trade, and relationships with bands as well as introducing the W.M.S. missionaries in order to maximize profits and to ensure the long-term, continued viability of the fur trade.

Fur trader John McLean and Reverend Egerton R. Young agreed that the economic conditions of the fur trade rather than the humanitarian or philanthropic concerns of the Company officials in London motivated their approval for,²¹ and Simpson's solicitation of,²² the Wesleyan Missionary Society for the evangelism of the Rupert's Land Indians. While McLean's analysis was similar to Ray's, Young expressed his analysis in the following manner:

One of the principal reasons why the great fur-trading Company [was] so willing and solicitous for the establishment of Missions

in the northern part of the Great Dominion was to stop the drift of Indians from their rich and valuable hunting grounds, where they were none too numerous, for hunting, for their profit the rich and valuable fur which abounded, as well as to serve ... as trip-men or canoe-men as needed in the interchange of goods and furs between remotely situated posts.²³

Thus, Young explained as economic the introduction of the Wesleyan missions by the Honourable Company but explained the Indian migration to Red River as a search for religion:

At length, it dawned upon these shrewd men (of the Hudson's Bay Company) that it was on account of a dissatisfaction with old pagan religion, and a desire to become acquainted with the religion of the Bible ... Vague rumours had reached them from time to time, by passing hunters who came from regions where Christianity had been proclaimed ... that their religious instincts aroused, that family, after family embarked in their birchbark canoes for the land of the South Wind, in order to find the teacher, and the Book.²⁴

On this latter explanation, Ray would disagree with Young's assessment of the importance of religion as the driving force behind the migration patterns of the Indian. Ray attributed the drift of Indians to Red River colonies to their concern for survival.²⁵ Alexander Ross also expressed the opinion that the Indian migration to Red River was not a result of the attraction of religion but the promise of an easier life.²⁶ Many natives from the environs of Norway House would have had relations among the Cree, Muscaigo, and Saulteaux on Cockran's Indian Settlement or relatives among the retired fur traders and the "country-born" population with whom they might reside, work, or "free-load".²⁷ Also, native customs of sharing the wealth of provisions probably attracted many Indians to their relations at Red River. Thus, improvement of

material not spiritual conditions would have been the major attraction of Red River to the northern Indians.

The Hudson's Bay Company had recognized these diverse attractions of the settlement at Red River to the northern Indians. Simpson's introduction of the Wesleyan missions to Norway House, Lac la Pluie and Fort Alexander may have been associated with his desire to prevent further migrations of Indians and "hangers-on" to the struggling and tempestuous colony. "Simpson feared that if migrations were not checked, the woodland regions might be depopulated too quickly, depriving the Company of Indian labour as trappers and hunters"²⁸ as well as straining the resources of the colony. The Wesleyan contingent would help retard the migration from Norway House to Red River of partially civilized natives who had had a long association with the fur trade. Many natives from Norway House may have accepted the principles of civilization as represented by the fur trade employees and, therefore, were ready to become assimilated into that social structure. The Wesleyan missionaries attached to the fur trade posts at Lac la Pluie, Fort Alexander, and Norway House could provide a "civilizing" and stabilizing function for these co-opted populations.

Another concern of the Hudson's Bay Company officers was the aggressive expansionist policy of the Roman Catholic Church. Reverend William Cockran, Anglican missionary at Red River colony, and Reverend John Smithurst, Anglican missionary to the Indians at Red River, lamented the apparent ease with which the Roman Catholic Church was able to extend its missions and send its emissaries into the north-west. Simpson may have been worried about this trend and may have desired to outflank the Roman Catholic missions with Protestant missionaries. However, Simpson's experience with the Church Missionary Society missionaries at Red River

may have convinced him that a more pliable sect was preferable to the influential and powerful Church of England. The Wesleyan denominations was growing more numerous and powerful in Great Britain and in Canada and could serve as a counterbalance to the Anglican missionaries as well as circumvent the "Papists". Thus, Simpson may have deemed it advisable, political, and economical to invite the Wesleyan Missionary Society to send its agents to Rupert's Land particularly after receiving representations from Dr. Alder, a close personal friend and Chairman of the British Wesleyan Indian missions in Upper Canada, and Reverend James Evans, missionary to the Lake Superior Indians, to extend their missions westward to Red River.²⁹

The invitation, however, placed great limitations on the Wesleyan missionaries' activities which were not considered restrictive in the first instance³⁰ but which were designed to ensure the continued economic supremacy of the Company and the dependence of the missionaries on the Company. John McLean, fur trader and later Evan's son-in-law, noted that:

The great evil of [these] arrangement[s] was, that the Missionaries, from being servants of God, accountable to him alone, became the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, dependent upon, and amenable to them; and the Committee were, of course to be the sole judges of what was, or was not, prejudicial to their interests.³¹

Inasmuch as the missionaries were more concerned with the spiritual duties than their working conditions, the nuances of these arrangements between the Company and the Society were not immediately apparent to them. As emissaries of the Plain Truths of Christianity throughout Rupert's Land, for them, their spiritual concerns permeated all secular activities and resulted in their disapproval of the Sunday work habits,

Sunday travel, and the moral habits of both the Company servants and the native peoples. Civilization and salvation (the amelioration of temporal and spiritual conditions) applied to all the "barbarous" and "degraded" inhabitants of the region without exception. Whereas the native peoples worshipped gods and spirits which were the embodiment of superstition and evil, the white servants of the Company provided examples of backsliding and the degraded state of man without the supervision of the clergy. Only a few, through supreme efforts and perseverance, had been able to maintain a civilized facade, made possible through constant reference to the Gospel of salvation.

On the one hand, the missionary had to instruct the Indian and mixed blood peoples in the true principles of religion and to subvert and destroy the natives' belief in their gods and their "misconceived" perceptions of the spiritual world. Among the Indian and mixed blood peoples the missionary had to effect a complete change in world view. On the other hand, the missionary was required to resurrect or reinforce previous education in the gospel among the European population: fur traders. In both instances, the task of the missionary was designed "to the enlightenment and purification ... of (the) society at large" as well as the salvation of the "heathen" soul.

Not only had the Wesleyan missionary to succeed in these two complementary aims yet often conflicting demands on their time, but also had to operate in an increasingly stratified social environment as well as within an economic enterprise which resented their presence. Moreover, but the position of the missionary as defined by the fur trade, the native clients, and their own educational endeavors left little or no room for conflict among personalities or deviation from projected norms.

Any variation in missionary activity from any one of these view points caused potential situations for conflict and decreased the missionary's effectiveness in his various roles.

Therefore, the educational activities of the Wesleyan missionaries in Rupert's Land between 1840 and 1854 which are discussed in the following chapters must be viewed within the changing environment of Rupert's Land. This sketch of conflicting expectations, demands, and aims on the missionaries activities held by the various groups is an attempt to outline some of the limitations which affected the ultimate success of the W.M.S. enterprise among Rupert's Land natives.

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CHAPTER III

Christianization and Civilization:

The Roles of and Relationships between the Wesleyan Missionary, the Fur Traders, and the Indian

In order to assess the effectiveness of the educational roles of the Wesleyan missionaries in Rupert's Land during the mid-nineteenth century, the relationships between the missionary, the fur trade personnel, and the native population should be described, however briefly. Only then may be better evaluated the disadvantages and advantages of the various methods and tactics employed by the Wesleyan missionaries in accomplishing their stated aims of Christianization and civilization of the native peoples. Also, such a description could assist the historians' quest for answers to intriguing questions about fur trade social relationships which include: What were the economic, political and social relationships between the Indian and the fur trader? Did these structural relationships change over time? if so, how? Why?

Thus a description of some elements of these relationships between the Wesleyan missionary, the fur trader, and the Indian during the missionaries' Christianizing and civilizing activities is the subject of this chapter. Although the Wesleyan missionary attempted to uplift both the fur trade and Indian clients, this chapter will focus on the latter. For the native population, the dual aims of Christianizing and civilizing involved converting the Indian listener to the evangelical Protestantism of the Wesleyan sect and instructing them in the characteristics of the new European standards. The methods of evangelism of the Wesleyan mission personnel included the itinerant circuit,

and the agricultural settlement. Yet the effectiveness of such methods depended on the co-operation of the officers and servants of the Company in each locality, the receptiveness and temporal conditions of the native populations, the proximity of competing denominations and the personality of the individual missionary. Hence, the impact of the Wesleyan missionaries Christianizing and civilizing activities varied according to the different areas and missionaries.

At first, the itinerant method was employed by some of the Wesleyan missionaries in Rupert's Land and affected their ultimate success or failure and others' assessment of their effectiveness. This method did not receive universal acceptance from the Wesleyan missionaries, and even less from their Anglican counterparts and their fur trade associates. The itinerant method, according to Rev. William Cockran and Rev. John Smithurst, C.M.S. missionaries at Red River, was doomed to failure. Mr. Evans, Smithurst noted, appeared

to be full of zeal; but unfortunately he only intends to Evangelize the Indians. This, I apprehend will not affect much good. The Indians are so erratic that I cannot conceive how they can be instructed in the principles of Christianity; and the Christian religion perpetuated amongst them unless located. Every good man who tries to keep religion alive in the soul, and be practically religious finds that with audiences his soul pants for life as the thirsty hart for the water brooks. And if this is the feeling of the European who is naturally energetic, how can we expect the sluggish, apathetic insensible Indian can keep religion in his mind, by hearing a lecture twice or thrice in the year. Many Indians do not visit the trading posts more than twice or thrice in a year and then have no provisions to enable them to continue any time to receive instruction ...

Smithurst diplomatically avoided any reference to the temptations of liquor and vice which might distract the visiting Indian from religion.

However, Smithurst did condemn the Wesleyan measures because they reversed the natural order of events.

... Mr. Evans is a real friend of the Indians, if he could only discern the best mode of benefitting them. I have no doubt after he has spent a few winters amongst them and had seen their wretchedness he will be convinced that something must be done for the Indian's body as well as his soul. 'He says "that Rupert's Land can never be civilized, therefore the Indians must remain forever in a state of barbarism". In this I differ from him, I say wherever a Trader can raise barley and potatoes, the Indian might possess the same, had he the habit and skill of raising them ...²

In these statements of Smithurst we can perceive the basic divergences between the initial aims and methods of the C.M.S. and W.M.S. missionaries. The Wesleyans were concerned, from Smithurst's account at least, with the soul of the Indian only. If the Indian could not attend to the regular services of the church, it was inconceivable to Smithurst and Cockran how the Indian could become a Christian. Indeed, how would it be possible for the missionary to ascertain whether the native underwent a conversion experience unless the missionary was able to supervise the Indian's habits regularly? Smithurst and his C.M.S. colleagues held a wider definition of a Christian person which included a "civilized" life style and habits and thought patterns consistent with Christian belief structures and "civilized" living.

In the 1820's to 1840's, one only had to look to the example of the European trader to perceive the tenuous hold of Christianity on the individual in a "natural" setting filled with tempting vices. Pannekoek enumerated some of these temptations which, undoubtedly, caused anguish among the missionaries as well.³

However much Smithurst thought that the Wesleyans would become disillusioned with their itinerant mode of evangelism, he did not foresee

the response of the Rocky Mountain Cree and Assiniboine to the teachings of Rundle nor did he foresee the response of the native client group to the development of the syllabic code of writing. Smithurst believed that the Wesleyans would "spend all their time travelling about through the immense districts assigned them, without being able to adapt those measures by which the Indian can be permanently benefitted ... [Smithurst] apprehended that the Wesleyan missionaries are men not long amused by travelling through the solitudes of America without the means of doing any real good to the heathen ..."⁴ The journals of both Rundle and Evans indicated that both enjoyed and prospered during their travels. Indeed, although both expressed disappointment at Company policies preventing the further establishment of pastoral missions because it prevented some needy Indians from benefitting from the instruction in religion and self-sufficiency at such missions, at different instances, both Evans and Rundle preferred the peripatetic life of the itinerant to the established mission environment. Church historians have long maintained that Rundle was more effective as an itinerant than he could have been as a parson, yet we can find little evidence to support this claim.⁵

Although Wesleyan historians disagreed with Smithurst's evaluation, Evans' son-in-law, former Chief Trader John McLean, provided essentially the same opinion. McLean stated that the Honourable Company wished the Wesleyan missionary to travel about the country meeting few Indians rather than locating a permanent mission site and 'benefitting' settled natives around the forts and possibly interfering in the conduct of the trade. A perusal of Hutchinson's introduction to the Rundle journals and Pannekoek's article on Evans would indicate that Simpson promoted

both policies for different missionaries at different times depending on the personality of the missionary, his influence with the Indians, and his relationship with the fur trade.⁶

Hutchinson evidently agrees with the historiography on Wesleyan missions in Rupert's Land. He suggests that Rundle's influence was greater among the wandering bands than it could have been as a Company parson.⁷ For example, Hutchinson suggested that Rundle's mission changed direction in March 1845 with the visit of Maskepetoon at Fort Edmonton:

Native people were now assuming the initiative, and were beginning to make plans with Rundle. In the meeting [with Maskepetoon] they made a map of the area around Bow River for a station, and later Maskepetoon organized and led a mission party through the south ... In addition [Rundle's] correspondence with Maskepetoon continued and while occasional notes passed to and from others, no other Indian was such a regular correspondent, indicating both the intelligence and initiative of Maskepetoon, and the degree of his interest in Rundle.⁸

While such an occurrence could not have happened without the initial assistance and support of the fur trade and officers such as Chief Factor J.E. Harriott, it is implied in Rundle's journals that he did greatly affect the Indian bands, and particularly the influential Maskepetoon. It is noted that this influence was achieved through Rundle's peripatetic existence and the use of the syllabic alphabet, but could not have been achieved if Rundle had been located at one post or shared his time between posts as was Simpson's expressed plan.⁹

On the other hand, we find that the Wesleyan missionaries were frustrated by the Company's refusal to permit and even its hostility to planned permanent settlements outside those existing at Norway House and Moose Factory. Hutchinson states that Rundle was unhappy with Com-

pany non-compliance with the request to establish an agricultural mission at Battle River Lake or Pigeon Lake¹⁰ although he disregarded Simpson's request to found a school at Edmonton.¹¹ Pannekoek cited Evan's frustration at Company obstruction of further settlements at Isle à la Crosse and other locations.

The pitiful situation of the poor natives is another obstacle to our successful prosecution of our duties. ... [S]o impoverished the country that it is utterly impossible for the poor Indians to procure a subsistence by the hunt. Not only must they suffer for the want of food, but such is the price of those little necessities that they are in a state of the most extreme wretchedness ... Scores of Indians perish annually from sheer starvation, partly from want of food and partly from want of clothing ...

Well with these facts in view Sir George denies us the privilege of settling them and calling their attention to agriculture, because it will effect the trade. Can we Christianize the Heathen without any reference to his temporal condition? Can we impart instruction efficiently, when he has no home? Can we educate his children when they must necessarily be wandering in search of food both winter and summer?¹²

Through his experience in Rupert's Land and fur trade politics as well as a desire to outflank the Roman Catholic missionaries, Evans had been brought around to Smithurst's views on the necessity of permanent missions. To some extent had abandoned his previous views on itinerancy.

Previously, James Evans had appeared to favour itinerant circuit riding over the Christian agricultural mission as a method for evangelizing the Rupert's Land Indian, although the latter would remain the ultimate aim of the Wesleyan endeavour. Evans considered the hinterland natives as important as the few settled natives at Norway House and had set out on his first journey to the scattered bands and the remote fur

trade posts within weeks of his arrival at Norway House in 1840.¹³ Evans' tours continued throughout his six year posting in Rupert's Land, filling his journals with narrations of long and short tours, often to the exclusion of information which, in retrospect, might have been more useful to the historian.

The impact of this method of the missionaries on the native bands is difficult to assess completely. However, Evans appeared to have a charismatic quality about him that attracted the natives and the attention of his colleagues. Rundle described Evans first talk to and impact on the Norway House Indians with the awe of a disciple.¹⁴ Apparently George McDougall, trader at Lesser Slave Lake, was similarly moved and impressed: he "had been strongly moved by Evans' visit in December (1841) and would have preferred having that missionary ..."¹⁵ So impressed was he with Evans' impact on the Lesser Slave Lake Indians¹⁶ that McDougall wrote to Evans that

... You sir, good and Rev'd Sir ... and without disparagement to any other, would be the only person likely to succeed in keeping a flock together at Lesser Slave Lake. Mr. Rundle does certainly all he can but it was from you they received the first dawn of light.¹⁷

Hutchinson agreed with other church historians that Rundle's influence among the Indians grew because he worked in the Indian camp and not from the Fort Edmonton stockade. He suggested that the successes that Rundle experienced would have been lesser if he had not set aside the judgments and advice of Simpson and Chief Factor Rowand of Edmonton.

Similar opinions of the effectiveness of Evans' work are common. The criticisms of these assessments do not question the work that was completed but debate the effectiveness of the method. Would the number of

converts to Protestantism have been greater if Evans and Rundle had concentrated their efforts at Rossville and Edmonton-Rocky Mountain House? Would the natives have grasped the meanings of the lessons more fully in a settled state? Would "civilization" have established an earlier and firmer hold on the natives? Would the converted natives at Lesser Slave Lake have been able to reject Catholicism more readily under the supervision of a pastor?

These questions are rhetorical inasmuch as the socio-political conditions at the time were not favourable to permanent settlements except at Norway House and at Lac la Pluie. Yet the permanent Christian agricultural mission became the ultimate end of the Wesleyan enterprise and, as such, had certain undesirable consequences for the fur trade which might have induced some of the Company's hesitancy in approving more pastoral stations. For example, Rundle had noted the Company's hostility toward the establishment of an agricultural settlement near Edmonton among the Rocky Mountain Cree. Pannekoek and Hutchinson have suggested that part of this hostility to new permanent mission stations in the Edmonton region derived from the conflict between Evans and the Company "Scotch" plutocracy.¹⁸ Simpson apparently favoured a mission site at Pigeon Lake under Rundle but nothing was accomplished until 1847, one year after Evans' death in England.¹⁹ Prior to that year Rundle's letters complain of Company intransigence to his proposals for an experimental station at Battle River Lake which arose from discussions between Rundle and native leaders.²⁰ One problem that caused some delay in the establishment of a station in the Edmonton region was Rundle's refusal to follow Simpson's suggestion that he establish a school at or near Fort Edmonton for Company servants' children and

representative children from the various bands. Rundle opposed this plan because he felt it would prevent him from evangelizing outlying natives thereby leaving the field open to the "Popish" priests and that he would be too closely supervised by the Company officials.²¹

The problem of Company scrutiny over missionary activities was another reason for the delay in establishing new missions and the Company's opposition to such stations. Many of the traders believed that it would not only ruin the trade by making the Indians less well disposed to work as shown by:

The worse thing for the trade is those ministers and Priests - the natives will never work half so well now - they like praying and singing - Mr. Thingheaute, [Thibeault] is allowed to go back to the Saskatchewan we shall be all Saints after a time.²²

But also it would alter the social relationships of the fur trade, or cause public relation problems between the Company and the public, in England or Rupert's Land:

[Letitia Hargrave] spoke to Willie [MacTavish] about the Jacobs affair and he says that the moral character of Evans, Mason and Jacobs are all as base as can be, but the comp'y have got tired of denouncing clergymen, as we always get the worst of it.²³

The Company, then, had to exercise its only source of power over the missionaries - limiting the extension of their missions.

However, Rundle and Mason interpreted the requests of the native leaders to establish agricultural settlements and the apparent enthusiasm with which some bands embraced their teachings as an indication of spiritual regeneration among the natives.²⁴ Their interpretation was, no doubt, somewhat different from that of the natives and, perhaps, the fur traders. However, Rundle, not eager to relinquish his wandering

mode of life to become a parson, felt that the Indians must be better instructed prior to the creation of an agricultural station. Thus, he perceived the enthusiastic response of some bands as transitory yet partially explainable by the "thirst" of the Indians for religion due to the bankruptcy of traditional religions when confronted with Christianity. However, before permanent missions could be created outside the established locations, the missionary had to be convinced of the change of heart among the natives.

Aside from his hesitancy to create an agricultural station, Rundle evaluated his work among the Indians very favourably. All Methodist missionaries, indeed all missionaries, believed that the main attraction of and, therefore, the central reason for the initial enthusiastic response to their teachings were the evident truths of their doctrines. Even given the great effectiveness of the methods and the charisma of Evans and Rundle it is extremely difficult to support this argument from the natives' viewpoint. The native people might have expected more tangible economic benefits to derive from the mission experience than merely "good words". For example, Rowand had written to Simpson that, "The Slave Indians ... have a story amongst them that Mr. Rundle is to open shop for them. When told ... that he had nothing to give them but good words, they were quite disappointed, and said they expected better things of him".²⁵ Hence, even the enthusiastic fervour that distinguished the missionary's work often was not sufficient to attract and hold the minds of all "heathens".

The three elements that increased the attractiveness of the Wesleyan mission to the native populations include: the attraction that spiritualism had for most native peoples;²⁶ the introduction of the syllabic

code for translating scriptures into the native language,²⁷ and the co-operation and support of the Company officers for the mission which added official patronage to the missionary's work.

Since the missionary claimed that he represented the Great Spirit, this was attraction enough to gain the ear of the native for a short time. Indeed, the reaction of the Cree at Rocky Mountain House during Easter of 1841 and the story surrounding Rundle's arrival at Fort Edmonton could be indicative of the native's respect for the supernatural.²⁸ To all Indians in all settlements, the fur traders deference to the missionary in things spiritual and their submission to his authority in the rites of marriage and burial signified the supernatural powers of the Wesleyan missionary.

Moreover, Shimp credits another yet related motive: "From the natives' viewpoint, material wealth was a visible fruit of divine protection ... The whites were immensely rich ... Hence, the whites must have had extremely powerful manitous behind them".²⁹ The Methodist missionary not only represented these powerful manitous but their access to the storehouse of the Company for some essential materials indicated further power to the Indians. Rundle's journals carried many reports of discussions with Indians which supported the view held by Shimp that native leaders may have desired association with the Wesleyans for this reason. They wished to be able to benefit from the European God as well as their spirits.

Although official support for the Wesleyan missionaries varied from post to post and over time, the Company did attempt to assist the missionaries. Harriott, Ross, and James Hargrave were in the practice of observing the Sabbath regulations of the Company prior to 1840.

Simpson issued instructions to all posts that "rules for the observance of the Sabbath should be strictly kept" and that "issues of grog to servants and Indians were discontinued in the [Northern] District".³⁰ The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine published occasional statements from fur traders who perceived the Wesleyan enterprise as a boon not only to the Indians but also the social, moral, and intellectual life of the various posts.³¹ Company correspondence also demonstrated the initial pleasure of the officers with the Wesleyan missionaries. It is evident that while the Wesleyan missionaries required the assistance of the Company officers for the successful initiation of their work, the officers often preceded and superceded the work of the missionaries. For example, James Hargrave of York Factory wrote to Donald Ross of Norway House and James Evans on the beneficial aspects of the cessation of "grog" rations.³²

Individually the missionaries benefitted from the patronage of Company officers. Rundle's first days at Norway House and at Fort Edmonton and Rocky Mountain House were made pleasant by the welcome extended to him by the chief officers. Rundle praised Donald Ross of Norway House and J.E. Harriott of Rocky Mountain House for their preparatory work among the Indians.³³ Harriott had devoted much time and effort as well as much of his considerable influence among the native bands to ensure a suitable welcome for Rundle and a productive harvest. Harriott continued to assist Rundle in his pastoral duties, assisted Rundle and Evans in their work of translation of the scriptures into the Cree syllabics, and submitted his own translations of the scriptures to Evans, and later to Mason for consideration.³⁴

In addition to the welcome extended to him at Moose Factory, Barnley

praised the assistance of Chief Factor Barnston for his efforts in subverting and quelling a quasi-Christian messianic movement among the local bands in 1843, Barnley revealed that Barnston's prompt action may have saved the "orthodox" Christian missions in that region.³⁵

Evans was so pleased with the early assistance of Donald Ross at Norway House and his preparatory efforts at Christianizing the local Indians that, very astutely, he named the new Indian settlement at Playgreen Lake - Rossville.

Mason did not receive the same support from the Company servants at Lac la Pluie as he did from the officers. The servants, who were Roman Catholic adherents assisted his rival, Father Belcourt from Red River, and provided stiff resistance to Mason's form of Christianity. He did receive some moral support and material assistance from the Company officers in the form of food and clothes from the Company stores for mendicant natives.³⁶

The support of the Honourable Company continued for the mission experiment until 1854 and beyond. The Canadian Conference missionaries praised the assistance of the Company when they assumed control of the Rupert's Land missions. However, quarrels and misunderstandings did surface between the Company and the missionaries which affected greatly their ability to operate in the fur trade society. The greatest sources of conflict or difficulty arose from the underlying conflict of religious and economic purposes of the missionaries and the Company; and the personalities of George Simpson and James Evans as well as between the wives of the officers and the missionaries.³⁷

The Hudson's Bay Company was primarily an economic enterprise. McLean and Pannekoek stated that the Company brought the Wesleyan mis-

sionaries into Rupert's Land in 1840 because they were a more pliable sect and would be more subservient to the interests of the Company than were the missionaries of the C.M.S. at Red River settlement. Pannekoek suggested that the Wesleyan missionary would serve the Company interests by preventing native migrations from the fur bearing territories to the south.³⁸

The Wesleyan interference in the traditional patterns of the fur-trade caused the wrath of Simpson to descend upon Evans, not the latter's indiscretions, as was stated by Young and Shipley.³⁹ One officer condemned Evans' interference among the natives because it adversely affected the conduct of the trade by making the Indians from the settlement at Rossville unmanageable.

Whilst the Indians are left to exercise their own free will, they come forward and offer their services to perform their regular duties; the moment Mr. Evans gets hold of them, his threats of temporal and everlasting punishment, and promises of employment, pay, supplies, the prospect of a better market for their furs and other advantages, induce them to break their solemn engagements ...⁴⁰

Evans, it seems, was attempting to undermine the very foundations of the Company enterprise, particularly when he offered the Indians an alternative market for their services and their furs. Thus Evans was considered irresponsible.

Evans and other Protestant missionaries also objected vehemently to the practice of Sunday travel.⁴¹ Evans instructed his adherents not to travel on the Sabbath nor to imbibe in liquor. The traders, on the other hand, believed that these restrictions infringed upon their ability to meet the travel deadlines and the privilege to relax at the end of a hard brigade.⁴² Pannekoek stated that

It was Evan's opposition to Sunday travel that sparked the initial controversy. Since the Indians at Norway House formed a significant portion of the York brigade, Simpson was convinced this would impede the function of a transportation network already seriously limited by environment.⁴³

Evans contended that a team that rested on the Sabbath could equal the work of other boat teams that travelled seven days a week. The men would benefit from the spiritual solace as well as the rest and, therefore, be more efficient during the remaining six days.⁴⁴

Evans' interference in the transportation system was not his only administrative blunder.

Evans also cut the trapping season by two months by holding sacraments in December, November, and March instead of the usual Spring and Fall. Furthermore, the parson envisaged the introduction of manufacturing at Norway House which would draw even more Indians from the trade and made statements implying that they should trade with whomever they pleased.⁴⁵

Neither free traders nor their promoters were welcomed in Rupert's Land and Evans' friendship with James Sinclair at Red River made him suspect in Company circles. One trader implicitly stated that the influence of Evans and other missionaries over immature and impressionable minds of the Indians was too great.

The minds of the Indians here, are as yet, but in a state of transition in regard to religious knowledge and religious principles ...⁴⁶

Alexander Ross, chronicler of Red River society and local historian, might have concurred completely.⁴⁷

Moreover, McLean and Stephenson argued that the success experienced by Evans at Rossville led to his destruction. In addition to the general missionary aims of conversion and civilization: the Indians would be

"taught to read and write, and to worship God 'in spirit and in truth',"⁴⁸ Evans also tried especially to civilize the Christian Indians in little communities where "they were taught to cultivate the soil, husband their produce, so as to render them less dependent on the fortuitous circumstances of living": namely, the hunt and the fur trade.⁴⁹ At Rossville, Evans, Hassell, Mason, and Steinhauer introduced industrial training - domestic training for the women and carpentry for the men - to the school as an added means for self-support among the Indians.⁵⁰ Although Evans may have intended the cottage industry to replace dependence of the settled Indians on the fur trade and to supplement the fishery and the hunt, both Evans and Mason remarked that habits of industry were clearly beneficial to the Indians. Indeed, such habits were virtuous in nineteenth century terms, and indicative of acceptance of civilized patterns of life. A self-contained agricultural settlement with cottage industry would provide additional opportunities to introduce "such things as Victorian moral standards(,) ... Sabbatarianism ..." and "the Methodist system of self-support."⁵¹ The success of these initiatives is not recorded in the available documents, although Rev. E.R. Young,^a nineteenth century Wesleyan historian, praised their civilizing effects.

Rundle, Mason, Evans, and Barnley also transmitted the message of salvation to the natives and fur trade personnel using any method at every opportunity. These included other traditional forms of instruction such as sermonizing, catechizing, schooling, and the attempted destruction of native authority and beliefs (although Evans recognized the importance of utilizing traditional beliefs to his advantage).

For example, each record of the voyage to Rupert's Land reveals

that the Wesleyan missionary taught the boats crews the truths of the gospel, if they were willing to listen and not Roman Catholic adherents, and preached at each post along the route as well as each camp site. They did embark upon their task in earnest upon their arrival at their final location. Evans and Mason did take the opportunity of occasions presented during lay-overs at the Red River settlements to preach to the Indian and European inhabitants, including the mixed blood or country born, often with the approbation of the C.M.S. missionaries⁵² as well as to hold talks with those missionaries. Rundle set about his instructional duties at Norway House although he was to be stationed there temporarily until Evans' arrival

I opened at once the great doctrine of X^t crucified. I told them how sin came into the world; we were all sinners and God was a Holy Being. Sin was therefore, opposed to his nature. We all deserved Hell but that God put his love towards (us) sent His Son to die in our stead and entreated them to begin to pray to God ...⁵³

This basic message was the one that Rundle preached to the natives and fur traders for the next eight years. The content and the context might change but not the essence.

Moreover, Rundle, disgusted at the "heathen" religious practices of the Rupert's Land Indians, searched out occasions to confront native conjurers and to win them to his doctrines. These confrontations and those described by Young of a later period of evangelism of western bands⁵⁴ were efforts to prove to the native populations that the European God was powerful and protected his emissaries. The confrontations may have been efforts to establish the 'truth'. For instance, on July 13, 1840, Rundle had "heard there was a lodge of Indians on the opposite side of

the water who did not come to hear [him] and who ridiculed the inhabitants of the village for hearing [him]"

[Rundle] was told that some of the Indians from there said that they would burn a Miss^y alive if he came amongst them. In the evening [Rundle] went to the lodge before the Service and invited them to come and hear the good news and see how they like it. One old conjurer hid himself under his blanket when [Rundle] approached the Lodge. Two conjurers and a few others came.⁵⁵

Undoubtedly Rundle's heroic action in the face of a powerful threat from the conjurers established for him and other Christian missionaries some prestige among the local bands. Although there is no comment about one old conjurer, hiding himself under his blanket, it is probable that this action was interpreted by Rundle's correspondents as illustrating the weakness and deceitfulness of native religions while presenting the power and truth of evangelical Christianity

The effectiveness of such examples of the power of Christianity on the native peoples and other methods of proselytism are not only difficult to assess now, but caused anguish among the missionaries. How could the missionary be certain that the native's willingness to be baptised represented a true inward conversion of the heart and the mind? Outward habits and exhibitions of sentiment as well as questioning during catechetical meetings were the only means available to evaluate the Indian's inward reformation. Often Rundle deferred the administration of the sacraments and baptism until he was able to examine the individual privately and "make them better acquainted with the nature and design of the sacrament".⁵⁶ Evans and Barnley related long tales that revealed that some Indians did undergo what appeared to be conversion experienced and "thirsted" after the gospel.⁵⁷

All Wesleyan missionaries took every opportunity to instruct and preach to the native populations even if it required travelling hundreds of miles. Instruction in the truths of Christianity and the designs of God for man was an element of all sermons but as well as formal settings, instruction also took place in small informal settings. Catechetical or class meetings were an important instructional setting. While at Norway House in the summer of 1840 Rundle preached daily to the Indians of the settlement, held religious meetings with the servants and officers of the Company, and taught the catechism after native services.

July 21st [1840] ... The Penitents this evening presented a most interesting group, just such as the imagination might suggest - six young females sitting together, their long flowing hair was suffered to fall over their faces which were bent towards the ground and some of them were weeping bitterly ...

July 23 ... did not address the penitents personally.

July 26 ... I addressed the Indians in the evening and afterwards spoke to the penitents ... 58

Barnley held class meetings at Moose Factory, Evans and Mason the same at Rossville, and Rundle wherever he visited for a short time and held the attention of the inhabitants. The catechism lessons were excellent opportunities for the missionary to ensure that his listeners were instructed in and did understand, at least in a rote fashion, the doctrines of the Society and the lessons of the gospel. The Anglican missionaries at the Red River settlements held similar meetings after church services and in the evening, particularly at the Indian settlement.⁵⁹ Missionaries of both denominations were impressed by the attentiveness of the native populations to the lessons and were convinced of the effectiveness

of this form of instruction.

Two examples of this form of instruction follow:

During a visit to Lesser Slave Lake in February and March of 1842, Rundle "commenced instructing the young folk in writing, etc., also taught them the Creed",⁶⁰ hymns, singing, and lectured on many subjects.

The apparent success of these endeavours was evident in the response of the Indians.

... Lesser Slave Lake. What an encouraging and inviting field is there! ... The lake presents a most encouraging and inviting field for Missionary effort. The whole district appears becoming Christianized. The services were of a very interesting description. ... I was accustomed to hold a kind of school during five days of the week ...

The girls made great proficiency during my stay there and the services, which you will perceive by my Journal were held every evening unless some extraordinary circumstance prevented were in general well attended. The scholars were principally employed in writing the Creed and attending my catarchical [sic] examinations. I was accustomed to meet them for a space of two or three hours and sometimes for a longer period. The school was closed with a prayer. Most of the young people appear at the service with their little hymn books and this to me is a very cheering and interesting sight ...⁶¹

A year later Rundle lamented the incursions into the "Christianized" population of Lesser Slave Lake made by the Roman Catholic Priest.⁶²

Religious instruction at the Playgreen Lake settlement followed a similar pattern but was more formalized in some instances. Class meetings were embedded in the history of Wesleyanism; indeed, its proven effectiveness for the conversion of whole populations in the precedent of Upper Canada boded well for its extension to the model village of Rossville. There the class meetings were led by Evans, Mason, and the native assistants Hassell and Steinhauer. For example, Evans

provided this assessment of the form and the usefulness of the method.

Our Society consists of eleven classes. To each is appointed an assistant Leader, who is thus preparing to take the place of the Leaders, as they may be called to more extensive usefulness. There are in these one hundred and twenty-one members, whose piety and Christian deportment have called for no disciplinary interference, save in one case, since their conversion. . .63

The one hundred and twenty-one members in the Society represented an increase in the Society's membership of twenty-six over the previous year.

Such class meetings not only provided the missionary assistants for the field but also class leaders for the Society. As in Upper Canada where Evans had previously utilized native assistants and exhorters to evangelize and to maintain religious contact and learning among the wandering bands. Indeed, as Evans' phrase "more extensive usefulness" implied, this method of evangelism also clearly meant that the native class leaders would become missionary assistants or missionaries in their own right to the "heathen." No doubt Mason and Evans had in mind Benjamin Sinclair, John Sunday, and particularly Thomas Hassell when they referred to the eagerness of the class leaders and members to assist their heathen brothers as well as their own assistants from Upper Canada, Peter Jacobs and Henry Steinhauer.

Native catechists were one measure of the impact of the missionaries' evangelism among the native populations but even at the less promising posts there were other indications of their effectiveness. Rev. William Mason reported to the Wesleyan Methodist

Society in August 1840 that since his arrival he had "had frequent intercourse, both individually and collectively with the Indians: they appear[ed] to be very numerous, and very much opposed to Christianity".⁶⁴ Evans reported that Mason's mission had had "apparently little success among the Indians, which, from their proximity to Red River Colony, added to a natural aversion to changing their religion, have an antipathy to ours arising from frequent intercourse with those whose lives are a disgrace to their profession, and a stumbling block to the Heathen".⁶⁵

Although he did not identify those who were "stumbling blocks" he might have been referring to the Roman Catholic servants of the Company. Mason cited the principal obstacles to the success of the mission at Lac la Pluie as being "Idolatry, Popery and superstition [which] combined against Christianity."⁶⁵ Although all Protestant missionaries complained of the falseness of the Catholic emissaries to the west: who mystified the poor benighted heathen, blinded them, and enfolded them in false shrouds against the plain truths of the gospel, Father Belcourt's impact at Lac la Pluie was increased with the assistance of the Roman Catholic servants of the Company.⁶⁷ The Wesleyan Mason appeared to have had the support of the Company officer after 1841 but the officers may not have had the same kinship ties with the native peoples as did the servants. It would appear that the Methodist venture at this post did suffer from the competition.

Only the diligent labour of Mason, Steinhauer, and Jacobs produced results "amidst the greatest opposition". Jacobs had one convert at

Lac la Pluie who was "never happy but when in the company of Mr. Jacobs, and hearing of the love of Christ. He learned the alphabet, and is now learning to read. Mr. Jacobs entertains great hopes of him".⁶⁸ Steinhauer experienced some success at the mixed blood school in the fort where the curriculum was the alphabet and religious lessons. The people, it seemed were "poor, ignorant, though independent ..." and probably did not perceive the missionary's task in the same way as the Indians at Norway House and at Moose Factory. From the accounts of Evans at Rossville and Rundle at Rocky Mountain House, the Cree apparently believed that the Wesleyan missionaries were brokers of a new religion and culture. At Rossville the natives accepted the leadership of Evans and later Mason, as well as embraced the mission's civilization endeavours. The same did not occur at Lac la Pluie.

Evans had assumed virtual control of the Indian settlement at Norway House upon his arrival. He was a participant in all the community activities although he lived in the fort until 1843 when his removal to Playgreen Lake mission was suggested by Simpson.⁶⁹ Prior to this Evans had lectured the natives on all religious topics and in the rudiments of civilization. For example, on October 16, 1840 Evans, "preached at six, eleven and three; and at seven held a band meeting". What was discussed at the band meeting was not revealed but may have centred on the proposed move to Playgreen Lake. On October 14, Evans had gone "to the point and surveyed the land, running lines north and south, and giving each person two chains in width, and from eighteen to twenty-seven in length; being as much as the short season will permit them to cultivate". In the month of September he had "commenced clearing the point of land for the [new] settlement of the Indians, about three miles

from the Fort" on Playgreen Lake, "and preparing the ground for the erection of mission-premises [the] next summer".⁷⁰ Evans undoubtedly thought that it might be easier to convert the Indians if his system of government was based on trust and example away from the immediate vicinity of the Company fort.

The removal of the Indian settlement from the immediate vicinity of the Company fort was important for another consideration. The removal allowed Evans to establish his spiritual as well as his temporal authority over the inhabitants. The settlement was far enough removed from the fort so as to isolate the native population from the possible intrusion of undesirable or non-Christian behavior and belief patterns. The missionary staff was able to protect the natives from those habits that were perceived as harmful to the civilizing and Christianizing processes. The mission staff would be able to impress upon the village inhabitants the respectable behavior patterns through example, explanation, and instruction.

Isolation from the deleterious influences of European personnel and instruction in the correct behavior and belief systems formed a major element of all Wesleyan experiments among Rupert's Land natives even in the remote North Saskatchewan territory of Rundle's circuits.

Ballantyne, a young clerk with the Hudson's Bay Company and an indifferent historian, provided a brief but romantic sketch of the success of Evans' experiment at Rossville: "a settlement of well-kept little homes gathered around the parsonage and the church, whose white walls were the symbol to the voyageurs and inhabitants of a new, clean, wholesome way of life" had been established.⁷¹ This description was an obvious overstatement but Mason did report that "... the gentlemen

who visit our little village, expressed their surprise at the great change and improvement of the natives ..." which was greater than that experienced at other establishments in Rupert's Land.⁷² Evans' August 1844 report on the progress of the establishment concurred:

The Rossville settlement will this autumn consist of thirty dwelling-houses, a church (unfinished), a school-house, and a work-shop: ... no expense whatever has been incurred in its erection, the Indians having done all the work ... Industry is advancing under the influence of Christianity: the fields which we have cultivated look promising and afford us reason to hope, that ... we shall have a productive harvest of barley, turnips, and potatoes ...⁷³

Progress in the school was deemed encouraging as well.

The Methodist missionaries seemed to have had a general impact on the native populations contacted. The Lac la Pluie mission and the Lesser Slave Lake region suffered from the interference of Romanists, but in each case, a few permanent conversions were achieved.⁷⁴ Evans' permanent mission at Norway House and Barnley's mission at Moose Factory prospered while the Company officers supported the establishment. However strained relationships between the Missionaries and the Company officers as well as between the wives led to the decline of the establishment, and eventually, the departure of the Missionary. After Evans' departure, Mason's ability to maintain good relationships with the Company hierarchy has been cited as one reason for the continued existence of that establishment.

The impact of the missionary, for example on the natives at Rossville as noted above, led to a general change in the natives' life style. The adaptation to European civilization was marked, although the assimilated men often remained in the employ of the Company. To illustrate the progress of civilization, the missionaries

often remarked on the marked improvement in the status of women in the Rossville society.⁷⁵

Rundle's itinerancy also changed the belief patterns of many Rocky Mountain Cree as well as their attachment to the traditional life-styles. In the years 1840 to 1846, Rundle took his doctrines of Christianity, civilized life, and morality to the Indians. In 1847 the Indians of Rocky Mountain House and its environs had accepted the implicit objectives of Rundle's teachings and took the initiative in the planning and guiding of Rundle's visitations:

This was no longer a matter of Rundle paying visits to scattered camps when he could find them at home. Through the succession of visits many Indians were well-acquainted with each other, warmly responsive to Christian attitudes, and at least [partially] equipped for a new kind of life. There was no lack of interpreters for in every camp there were people who could talk both to Rundle and others. Now, sponsoring Indian groups under the leadership of Maskepetoon could conduct Rundle on an extensive tour, across the Bow River . . . deep into Blackfoot territory.⁷⁶

Such a tour represented significant changes in the attitudes of the native people toward Rundle and his message as well as inter-band politics. Rundle's prestige and status as a man of God was now established independently of Harriott's fur trade position. Harriott and Hugh Munro⁷⁷ could be seen as associates or assistants to Rundle. Rundle no longer depended upon the Honourable Company for legitimation. He could be perceived as a broker in his own right. This position derived from his direct access to the spirit of Christianity and the longstanding tradition of distribution of hand-written and printed translations of hymns, the Creed, and the scriptures, all in the native syllabics.⁷⁸ Also his correspondence with leading native spokesmen enhanced his position. The fact that correspondence did occur

between the missionary and native leaders is in itself significant. Benjamin Sinclair's arrival and the promise of a permanent mission at Pigeon Lake also entrenched Rundle's position as a broker of civilization.

The attraction by Rundle, Mason, Barnley, and Evans of native adherents to the ideas of civilization and Christianity can be explained only in part by the patronage of the Company officers. The long-term effect of these men must be explained by their persistence in the instruction of the native peoples, the continued work of the native assistants from Upper Canada, Peter Jacobs and, particularly, Henry Steinhauer, and the Native peoples' reception of the teachings of the Wesleyans.

The assistance of Jacobs and Steinhauer did not receive much attention in the missionary literature of the day. However, from later historical work and from the often disguised praise that Mason gave to Steinhauer it is evident that the Upper Canadian native assistants did provide much valuable assistance to the British missionaries.⁷⁹ The role of the native assistants could be explored more fully in later scholarly works.

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¹Rev. J. Smithurst's Journal, July 12, 1840, CMSA, CIM2.

²Rev. J. Smithurst's Journal, August 3, 1840, CMSA, CIM2, p. 454. In November, 1840, Smithurst returned to this theme in a letter to the C.M.S. Secretaries (CMSA, CIM2, pp. 526-529, November 2, 1840). After extracting from the Wesleyan Missionary Society letters of instruction to the Wesleyan missionaries, Smithurst commented that it was "clear that the Wesleyan Society missionaries are powerless. If they act according to their instruction they cannot effect the slightest good among the Indians ... I do not believe that it was intended they should. The Indian is far more valuable to the Fur Trade as a savage than as a Christian, and I am surprised the Wesleyan Missionary Society were not aware of that fact [in its] compact with the Company. The Indians were still to continue barbarians". Smithurst's comments can be explained in the context of the longstanding conflict between the fur trade and agents of Christian civilization. See Frits Pannekoek, "Protestant Agricultural Zions for the Western Indian", Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, XIV:3, pp. 55-56; Wallace, John McLean's Notes, pp. 364-71. McLean concluded his remarks on the Wesleyan missions similarly and drew from his experience as a "gentleman" in the fur trade.

³Pannekoek, "Protestant Agricultural Zions for the Western Indians", p. 61.

⁴Rev. John Smithurst Journal, November 1840, CMSA CIM2.

⁵See The Praying Men (Edmonton: United Church of Canada, 19th General Conference, 1960) for an example of this assessment. Also consult Rev. J.P. Berry, Rundle in Alberta, 1840-1848: - To honour the memory of a Pioneer, ed. Rev. Clio Jackson (The United Church of Canada, 1940) and Muriel Beaton Patterson, Messenger of the Great Spirit - Robert Terrill Rundle (New York, 1947).

⁶Rev. G.M. Hutchinson, "Introduction", The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, ed. H.A. Dempsey (Calgary, 1977); and Pannekoek, "The Rev. James Evans", pp. 3-11.

⁷Hutchinson, "Introduction", pp. xxix, xliii, liii.

⁸Ibid., pp. xliii-xliv.

⁹Ibid., pp. xxviii-xxix.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. liii-liv.

- ¹¹ Ibid., p. xxix,
- ¹² Pannekoek, "Rev. James Evans", pp. 10-11.
- ¹³ W.M.M., 1843, pp. 225-233; The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, pp. 33-36.
- ¹⁴ The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, p. 32.
- ¹⁵ Ibid., p. xxvi.
- ¹⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁸ Pannekoek, "Rev. James Evans", pp. 6, 7, 14.
- ¹⁹ Hutchinson, "Introduction", p. lviii.
- ²⁰ The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, pp. 200, 228ff, 246, 255, 258, 280-82, 303-304.
- ²¹ Ibid., pp. xxxii, xxxix, 75, 88, 157.
- ²² John Rowand to James Hargrave, 20 June 1843, in The Hargrave Correspondence, ed. G.P. de T. Glazebrook (Toronto, 1938), p. 441.
- ²³ Margaret A. MacLeod, ed., The Letters of Letitia Hargrave (Toronto, 1947), p. 212.
- ²⁴ The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, pp. 200, 229; W.M.M., 1848, p. 233.
- ²⁵ Hutchinson, "Introduction", p. xxiv.
- ²⁶ Mitsuru Shimpo, "Native Religion and Sociocultural Change: The Cree and Saulteaux in Southern Saskatchewan, 1830 to 1900", in Religion and Canadian Society, eds. S. Crysdale and L. Wheatcroft (Toronto, 1976), pp. ; and John McLean, Canadian Savage Folk - The Native Tribes of Canada (Toronto, 1971), pp. 420-455.
- ²⁷ See. E.R. Young, The Apostle of the North: Rev. James Evans (Toronto, 1900), pp. 181-221; T.C.B. Boon, "The Use of Catechisms and Syllabics by the Early Missionaries of Rupert's Land", The Bulletin, 13,

pp. 8-17; T.C.B. Boon, "The Centenary of the Syllabic Cree Bible, 1862-1962", The Bulletin, 17, pp. 27-34; Bruce Peel, "Frustrations of the Missionary Printer of Rossville: Reverend William Mason", The Bulletin, 18, pp. 20-26; Bruce Peel, "How the Bible Came to the Cree", Alberta Historical Review, 6:2, pp. 15-19; and Rev. N. Burwash, "The Gift to a Nation of Written Language", Royal Society of Canada Proceedings and Transactions, Series III, 1911, Section II, p. 7-21.

²⁸The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, pp. 55-6.

²⁹Shimpo, p. 131.

³⁰M. MacLeod, "Introduction", The Letters of Letitia Hargrave, pp. liv, lxx-lxxi.

³¹For example, W.M.M., 1841, pp. 159-160.

³²Glazebrook, The Hargrave Correspondence, pp. 355-6; MacLeod, "Introduction", The Letters of Letitia Hargrave, pp. lxx-lxxi.

³³The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, pp. 21-22, 23-4, 54.

³⁴Ibid., pp. 92, 112.

³⁵W.M.M., 1841, pp. 166-69.

³⁶Ibid., 1843, pp. 232-33.

³⁷Pannekoek, "Rev. James Evans", pp. 10-14.

³⁸Ibid., p. 3.

³⁹Young, The Apostle of the North, pp. 225-41; Shipley, The James Evans Story, pp. 129-145, 198-199.

⁴⁰William Brooks, "British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Activities in the Hudson's Bay Company Territories", Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, photocopy.

⁴¹Donald Ross to James Hargrave, 17 August 1841, in The Hargrave Correspondence, pp. 355-56; Pannekoek, "Rev. James Evans", pp. 3-14; and MacLeod, "Introduction", The Letters of Letitia Hargrave, pp. 166-67.

⁴²J.H. Riddell, Methodism in the Middle West (Toronto, 1946), p. 20; John W. Chalmers, Education Behind the Buckskin Curtain:

A History of Native Education in Canada (Edmonton, 1972), p. 87.

⁴³Pannekoek, "Rev. James Evans", p. 9.

⁴⁴Shipley, The James Evans' Story, pp. 129-131. This view is implied in other sources as well.

⁴⁵Frits Pannekoek, "Protestant Agricultural Missions in the Canada to 1870", Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1970, p. 29.

⁴⁶Brooks, "British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Activities", p. 31.

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⁴⁸Wallace, John McLean's Notes, p. 317.

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⁵⁰Brooks, "British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Activities", p. 28.

⁵¹Brooks, "British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Activities", p. 28.

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⁵³The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, p. 23.

⁵⁴E.R. Young, By Canoe and dog-train among the Cree and Sault-eaux Indians (London, 1892).

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⁶²Ibid., pp. 128, 153.

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⁷⁰W.M.M., 1843, p. 228.

⁷¹Riddell, p. 13.

⁷²W.M.M., 1845, p. 29.

⁷³Ibid., 1845,

⁷⁴The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, p. 157 ; W.M.M., 1843, p. 233.

⁷⁵Young, The Apostle of the North, pp. 148-49, 150, 154; W.M.M., 1849, p. 666.

⁷⁶Hutchinson, "Introduction", liii.

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CHAPTER IV

Wesleyanism in the Middle West - Formal Schooling Activities

The British Wesleyan missionaries in Rupert's Land considered their tasks among the native peoples as primarily religious and secondly civilizing. The missionaries were not "simply teachers of Religion",¹ however, although saving the souls of the "heathen" Indians and back-sliding European fur traders was the main purpose which sustained their willingness to endure the physical and psychological hardships encountered in the primitive world of the fur trade. The missionary and his assistant first of all had to educate his client in the truths of the gospel and the "benefits" to be derived from such knowledge in order to save their souls. The "benefits" of this Christian knowledge and instruction would have included not only mere gospel knowledge but also skills normally associated with formal schooling such as reading and writing as well as training in the habits and skills of civilization. From the missionary's perspective all were important and somewhat inter-related.

In this chapter some of the interrelatedness of Christianity and civilization will become apparent from the discussion of the formal schooling activities of the Wesleyan missions in the northwest. The interaction in the classroom and the pedagogy will be the focus of this discussion. Although for the missionary the method was not as important as the message, their use of pedagogy illustrated their didacticism. Sermonizing, catechizing, hymn-singing, individual instruction and various languages of instruction were included in the methods, while the curricula

included scriptural lessons, catechism, and industrial training.

"To educate the heathen of Rupert's Land"² was George Simpson's purpose behind his invitation to the Wesleyan Missionary Society to send out missionaries. Whereas Simpson had specific reasons to consider these missionary activities as beneficial to the Indian and to the fur trade in general, the client groups had to perceive the "advantages" of formal instruction to make such effective. According to Elizabeth Graham's study of missionary activities in Upper Canada, many native "leaders felt that advances in 'European' education, morality and health practices would enable them to cope better with political and economic changes and to compete on more equal terms with 'European',..."³ Similar motives might be attached to some elements of the native and mixed blood populations at Red River and, perhaps at Norway House, but it is difficult to assume that most native clients, except for the exceptional few, in the remainder of Rupert's Land had such concrete reasons for attending to the educational institutions of the W.M.S. missionaries. Most of the natives would have attended the church service, prayer meetings, or school lessons for reasons of material gifts, curiosity, or commitment to the new religion.

In particular, those native clients of the W.M.S. at Norway House might have attended the religious services and schooling activities for reasons of commitment to the creed or Christianity, or pressures from fur trade intimates. Moreover, the Norway House Indians had a desire to compete in the fur trade service and perceived the acquisition of European characteristics as functional in that competition. However, although this might have been especially the case for children of Company servants who might have identified with the European and not the

Indian population, according to Foster such opportunities for advancement were virtually closed to the mixed-blood population by the 1840's.⁴

The educational activities which occurred within the walls of the typical Wesleyan mission school would not have assisted the native in such a quest nor was the instruction designed to do so. Whereas in Upper Canada's missions much of the school instruction was often secular yet under the control of a religious authority, in the W.M.S. schools of Rupert's Land the curricula was completely religious. All of the instruction was in the gospels and, later, in domestic skills. The native reaction to religious instruction is difficult to determine except from the reports in the journals of the missionary or in the descriptions of the fur trader. For example, immediately upon his arrival at Moose Factory in June 1840, Reverend George Barnley commenced instruction of the Indian and fort children in the religious knowledge of the gospels in a makeshift classroom provided in the fort. As his account records:

[Monday, June] 5th [1840] - Arrangements having been completed for commencing school, this part of my duty was, for the first time, undertaken today. I devoted an hour and a half in the forenoon to this exercise; and, from the apparent anxiety of the pupils to learn, have considerable hope that good will result from the establishment of it. The subject of instruction to the Indians was, "the attributes of God;" and I informed them of the happiness I should feel in giving explanations of anything which might not be clear to their apprehensions. To me the group, as they retired, was an interesting sight; and while I gazed upon them I lifted up my heart to God, for his blessing upon the instruction communicated.⁵

This hopeful, even enthusiastic response to the first day of instruction did not continue, nor did Barnley record the response of the Indian children to his "lecture". Indeed, like the Methodist experience in

Upper Canada, the effectiveness of these endeavours is difficult to ascertain.

Although "progress" in the school might have been limited, Barnley did continue his efforts in this endeavour:

With the exception of Saturday, I spend about four hours daily in instruction the children and young persons, and find that some of them repay the labour. Some school-reward books would be very acceptable.⁶

His use of positive reinforcement, probably on the example of British Wesleyan schools,⁷ although well received, was not successful in attracting and retaining the attention of his students.

"Progress", it would seem, was uneven at best due to the wandering life style of the Indian bands which conflicted with the sedentary and regulated life of the school. In June 1840 Barnley recorded his impressions on the subject with respect to the native bands:

I should be glad if some means could be adopted for instruction the Indian children, but this appears at present quite impracticable, from the unsettled life they are compelled to lead.⁸

At a later date such veiled criticism as suggested by "compelled" would have caused a furour. Although directed at the fur trade relationships of long standing which had helped "degrade" the Indians by making them dependent upon the vagaries of the trapline and the hunt, at this time nothing occurred.

On the other hand, from the fur trade perspective, Chief Factor Bewley suggested that all the classes of inhabitants at Moose Factory were willing to "hear and understand" Barnley's message.

... A school has been established, which is attended five days a week, for a short time in the forenoon, by sundry of the young people of both sexes; and the Indians, male and female, receive, through the medium of interpreters, instructions or discourses from the

Rev. gentleman five days a week for a short time in the afternoon of each day. An hour in the evening of Sunday, namely from six to seven o'clock, is also devoted to the instruction of the Indians; and in every respect there exists the utmost willingness to hear and understand, on the part of all the population of the island, whether residents or casual visitors, and whether Europeans and their descendants, or the pure native Indians.⁹

From this quotation Barnley's practice of segregating the European servants and their descendants from the Indian population illustrates a common practice in the north-west and particularly among the Wesleyan missionaries. There may have been a number of justifications for the de facto segregation: administrative problems due to language of instruction and the time required for translation from English to native tongues would have lessened the impact of the message on the mixed blood listeners, or the missionary's belief in a stratified social structure based on class.

In terms of translation difficulties Rundle, Evans, Mason and Barnley relied heavily in the first instance on their interpreters. Rundle never lost his dependence on a native or mixed blood interpreter when he taught the bands the lessons of the gospel, yet often was worried whether his interpreter was translating the message faithfully or adding editorial changes.¹⁰ Peter Jacobs, in his Journal of 1852, indicated that he could not speak the local dialect and would have had to rely on interpreters to some extent.¹¹ Lefroy, a scientist from the Toronto observatory who visited Rupert's Land in 1842, cast doubt on the native children's comprehension of the English lessons taught by Peter Jacobs while the latter was a school master at Norway House in 1842.¹² And, if we are to accept Letitia Hargrave's assessment of the native people's comprehension of James Evans' lectures at York Factory,

we can suggest that the message did not have a great impact on the Indians except through the medium of an interpreter. Therefore, pedagogically, it would have been more efficient to separate the children for lessons according to language.

Although it might be difficult to substantiate the claim that the Wesleyan missionaries segregated the children on racial lines to coincide with their belief in a socially stratified concept of humanity,¹³ it is possible to attribute the segregation of children for school instruction to class distinctions as well as administrative efficiency. MacLeod, Brown, and Van Kirk demonstrated clearly that the fur trade society in the mid-nineteenth century was a highly stratified class society.¹⁴ The Wesleyan missionaries may have allowed the Indian people to attend the religious services for the Company officers and servants but classroom instruction was class-specific. The letters of Letitia Hargrave illustrated that the senior Company officers in Rupert's Land preferred to send their children to the British Isles for their schooling or, if necessary, to Red River settlement.¹⁵ In some instances the children of the officers were tutored by the missionaries. For example, in January 1843 Robert Rundle cited in his journal his "cont. teaching [of] Rowand's Daughters".¹⁶ Such instruction by the Wesleyan missionaries received by these privileged students corresponded to the instruction Rundle provided for his native assistant and Governor Simpson's country-born sons. The lessons were not limited to religious truths and morals which were the major courses of instruction for the native children but included "writing and reading English".¹⁷ For example, William, Rundle's assistant, had "commenced learning Grammar in February 1845".¹⁸

Barnley's and Rundle's segregation of native and European for instruction had parallels with religious services as well as to Evans' experience. Evans had sent his daughter to the Church Missionary Society academy at Red River for an English education. Clarissa Evans would have been educated with the "bits of brown" of the fur trade officers but not with the mixed blood and native children of the fur trade servants.¹⁹ The school attended by Miss Evans was one of the number of C.M.S. related institutions condemned by Alexander Ross as training schools for the children of the fur trade "nabobs".²⁰ At a later date Mason sent his daughter to these C.M.S. schools²¹ and Peter Jacobs had his son educated at Red River as well.²² From these actions of the Wesleyan Missionaries it is possible to suggest that they attempted to be integrated into those structures at a high level consistent with the status of their occupations as well as promoting the class structures of the fur trade society.

The curricula, of the schools differed for the varied clientele. Whereas Rundle's "English School" was limited to his assistant, Simpson's sons, and Rowand's daughters, Rundle's instruction of the Indian children was completely religious. In a letter to "Rev. Mr. Evans" Rundle stated that

... you may perceive, too, by my Journal that I have been accustomed to meet the children in the Indian camps. These seasons [sic] have been devoted principally to the impartment of religious instruction and have almost invariably been concluded by prayer.

I have also occasionally instructed Mr. R's daughters in writing and reading English, but this has been done in his own rooms.²³

Rundle vigorously instructed the Indian children in the precepts of the Christian religion and utilized many activities. For example, in 1845,

in order to teach the native population Rundle's agenda included: "wrote two Sunday books",²⁴ "read a sermon in Cree for the first time",²⁵ "met Indian children and taught from the beginning of the Catechism",²⁶ and held services daily. During a visit to Fort Carlton House Rundle taught the young men and women religious principles in a regularly operated school,²⁷ as well as operating similar schools during visits to Lesser Slave Lake and presumably at Rocky Mountain House.²⁸

Such illustrations of the segregation of the students according to class for catechizing and schooling were significant during the fur trade era. Different groups received different forms of education according to their social status and the perceived requirements of that status. If the native schools emphasized the teaching of religious doctrine, then they were designed to introduce the native child, including the Company servants' children, to the content of evangelical Protestantism and civilized morality only. The catechetical lessons, although often attached to and indistinguishable from the classroom instruction, were indoctrinal sessions for the children and adults who had expressed an interest in or commitment to the Christian religion. Formal school curriculum was a means to adapt the native child and adult as well as the mixed blood children of the servants to the new European culture and society that was imposing itself on the north west, in particular, the religious pillars of this new culture. However, the educational views and practices adapted to the social conditions of Rupert's Land and the fur trade. Therefore, the segregation of children may have contributed to the formation and formalization of differentiated class structures yet reflected the existing social structures of the fur trade.²⁹ Although class origins were a factor in the type of schooling one was offered,

the Wesleyan missionaries did not limit schooling facilities to the few but attempted to open the schooling experience to all who desired schooling.

For example, Evans had a school shortly after his arrival at Norway House to solidify the advances made by Rundle's catechizing and sermonizing sessions. Although Evans later removed the school across the river from the fort, this school provided unique experiences for the children of the Indian village and the fort. Initially there were "about twenty-five scholars, anxious to learn; [and] teaching them to read English and their own tongue"³⁰ was the major task of the school master. Such bilingual schooling as practised at Evans' school at Norway House was perceived to be beneficial to all three interest groups: the settled natives, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the mission establishment. The acquisition of English would improve the individual's employment opportunities with the Hudson's Bay Company, supply the Company with locally trained labour and clerical personnel rather than expensively imported staff from the British Isles, and provide the mission with literate and trained classleaders and native catechists who could communicate in both languages. However, Lefroy casts doubt on the effectiveness of English language instruction for native children, particularly under the school master Peter Jacobs.

The school children amounting to 60 were soon got together although it was seven o'clock in the Evening, and we heard them read and spell and sing in Indian and English, they are Crees, their language is a pretty one, the astonishing thing was to hear them repeat long Exercises, such as the Creed, sing hymns, read the Testament & c. in English: not one word of which any of them understand. The missionary wishes to prepare the way for their learning the language but I think goes too far. One little boy re-

peated the Lords Prayer perfectly in English, putting in the stops correctly, varying the tone in perfect imitation of an intelligent speaker, yet could not say it in his own language: in fact the teacher who is a Chipewyan Indian seemed to have the same sort of pride in their proficiency that a bird fancier has in any ingenious collection of piping bullfinches.³¹

The demonstration lesson was a complete failure and increases doubts in one's mind about the glowing reports of public examinations provided in other sources.³²

The extent of English language instruction at Norway House cannot be determined from the available records. However, the ability of the native assistants to read literature, particularly sacred literature, in the native tongue, proved beneficial to the Wesleyan missions because religious tracts were the only form of printed matter in the syllabic code allowed by the Hudson's Bay Company.³³ This code provided the Wesleyan missionaries with an excellent tool for the dissemination of the gospel. The missions at both Norway House and Moose Factory printed thousands of pages of hymns and scriptural passages for distribution among nomadic as well as settled natives. The effectiveness of the syllabic system was praised by Evans, Rundle, Mason, and C.M.S. missionary, Bishop David Anderson.³⁴ For example, Evans noted in December of 1841 that

The Indians and children [sang] these hymns well, and several read with some fluency. The short time which is required to learn to read and write arises from there being no such thing as learning to spell, every character in the alphabet being a syllabic, so that when these are learned, all is learned. Several of the young boys and young men can write any word in the language, seldom committing any error. [Evans had] printed about two thousand pages of hymns, etc., and on [his] winter tour, by God's blessing, [Evans would] print the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, Commandments, and the

first chapter of St. Matthews Gospel; not forgetting the Rules of the Society.³⁵

To perfect the syllabic system Evans had consulted with his colleagues and friendly fur traders as well as converted native assistants including Norway House school master and licensed local preacher, Thomas Hassell.³⁶ Chief Trader J. Harriott of Rocky Mountain House "had translated the Lord's Prayer and General Thanksgiving both of which [Rundle was] accustomed to use in the Cree service".³⁷ Harriott had assisted Evans in the translation work during the latter's visit to Fort Edmonton in November 1841. Rundle, Barnley and Mason, had early perceived the advantages in the Cree syllabics for their evangelical work among the Indians. In December 1841 Rundle, by his own estimation, was "nearly perfect in the Cree alphabet"³⁸ and was teaching the Indians at Fort Assiniboine to read the script. They could "understand the alphabet tolerably well and [were] able to write small words."³⁹ In one day Rundle "Taught [a] half-breed 10 commandments and 4 women the alphabet".⁴⁰

That Evans' work on the syllabic alphabet proved to be a major innovation and an essential element of the Christianizing and civilizing duties of the Wesleyan missionary can be illustrated by the utilization of the code as a method and medium of instruction by all Methodist missionaries and by some C.M.S. missionaries. The Cree syllabics became an integral part of Rundle's educational activities in the field and in the school. Without the syllabics and with his own imperfect command of the native spoken language Rundle would have been helpless. For example, during his visit to Lesser Slave Lake in the winter and spring months of 1842 the syllabics were very favorably received as a central element of his instructional duties.

... [at] Lesser Slave Lake ... I was accustomed to hold a kind of school during the five days of the week ...

The girls made great proficiency during my stay there and the services, which [the Society] will perceive by my Journal were held every evening unless some extraordinary circumstance prevented, were in general very well attended. The scholars were principally employed in writing the Creed and attending my catachetical examinations. I was accustomed to meet them for the space of two or three hours and sometimes for a longer period. The school was closed with a prayer. Most of the young people appear at the service with their little hymn books and this to me is a very cheering and interesting sight ... [Evans'] Alphabet will undoubtedly be rendered a great blessing to the country ...⁴¹

While at Lesser Slave Lake Rundle and William, his assistant, also prepared a Catechism with questions and answers which was "imperfectly done". The impact of the syllabic alphabet and the new found medium of expression was greatest on Rundle's native intimates. His journal is filled with expressions of awe at the letters he received from Maskepetoon and others who had previously had no written language.⁴²

Barnley agreed with Rundle's assessment of the potential of the syllabics and reading for the formal and informal education of the Indian population. He had witnessed the potential power of the written word among the native populations when two enterprising Indians, Jesus Christ and the Light, had learned to read the syllabic alphabet, utilized some of the translated hymns and scriptural passages as a basis for a new religion associated with Christianity, and in the native messianic tradition had established themselves as prophets of the new religion. Barnley, in his letters to the W.M.S. secretaries, attributed to the power and authority of Chief Factor Barnston of Albany the dislodgement of the impostors and the prevention of the co-option of the Wesleyan message into the native belief structures.⁴³ The persistence

of the native messianic movement or religious "frenzy" among the Indians along the coast of the Bays is revealed in the letters of Letitia Hargrave and the correspondence of her husband, then Chief Trade James Hargrave. It is evident from this correspondence that the native leaders of the movement attempted to associated themselves with the Christian religion.⁴⁴ Yet the firm but delicate handling of the powerful officers of the Company was necessary to the following of such leaders and prevent any harm to the Company servants.⁴⁵

Historiographically, most descriptions of the Wesleyan missions have emphasized the "success" or "effectiveness" of the Methodist missionaries and their native assistants among the Rupert's Land Indians. One classroom and pulpit experiment, that of Lac la Pluie, did not witness the apparent success of the others. The effectiveness of the school at Lac la Pluie was held in doubt by Mason, although he did hold some hope for its role in the future.

Mason and his assistants, while concerned with the salvation of native souls, apparently had decided to revitalize the Christianity of the Hudson's Bay Company officers and servants first of all and employed the school as a vehicle for evangelizing the children of the fort. The school was "attended by all the boys and girls connected with the fort, which [Mason trusted would] ultimately prove beneficial".⁴⁶ Henry Steinhauer was primarily responsible for the school and had developed it by devoting much time and energy to it as well as to his other duties as translator and interpreter. Steinhauer recorded that during the winter of 1840-1841 the "school was [his] principal employment ... [He] had the pleasure of seeing some of the scholars beginning to read the word of God in both English and Indian,"⁴⁷ although at this time the Indian script

was presumably in the Roman not syllabic alphabet. But Steinhauer did suggest that these scholars, presumably the mixed blood children of the Company servants, had progressed satisfactorily during a short period.

We have a good school, and the children have made great progress, those who knew not the alphabet can now read the new Testament. There is a sermon twice every Sabbath. On Sunday afternoons the children repeat the Collect for the day, several Hymns or portions of the Scripture, ... Bibles, Hymn-Books, Catechisms (Watson's) would be very useful. We should be all means have them in French, as well as English.

... The School is spoken of, by the Officers of the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company with general approbation.⁴⁸

These religious materials in French requested by Steinhauer were undoubtedly destined for the children of the French Company servants. The officers connected with this post approved of this attempt by the Wesleyan mission staff to inculcate good habits along with English and Protestant morals into the French, and nominally Roman Catholic, children as well as the English and Indian children, despite the fact that they probably sent their children to Red River or the British Isles for their schooling.⁴⁹ Aside from the general improvement in demeanor and religious instruction, such local schools could serve as useful training grounds for future servants and their wives. These schools had the added advantage of demonstrating the potential benefits of religious instruction to the native populations.

However, although this Methodist school at Lac la Pluie had had good attendance and operated for four hours each day, the general lack of effectiveness among the "poor, ignorant, though independent people" may have determined the Company "gentlemen's" slow arrangements to construct the promised classroom.⁵⁰ Undoubtedly the intrusion of the

Roman Catholic missionary, Father Belcourt, from Red River into Mason's domain hindered progress for the Protestant religion and morals in the school and among the Indian population. Similar problems such as lack of progress among the Indian children and slow construction of promised facilities were encountered by Barnley at Moose Factory.⁵¹

The Rossville mission encountered greater effectiveness in the schooling of native settlers and their children and the introduction of the principles of Christianity and civilization. In August 1843 Evans received added assistance at the mission with the transfer of William Mason and Henry Steinhauer to Playgreen Lake. The added strength was designed to permit greater opportunity for the evangelization of wandering bands by Evans as well as to assist the extension of the Rossville mission. Established with the purpose of extending the gospel, the Rossville mission was to civilize the Indian, teach them the basic principles of Christian society, and to aid them to become independent of the whims of fortune, and the tides of trade.⁵² Mason, as an exemplar of these principles, supplied his family "constantly with fresh vegetables" from his garden and promised "to have potatoes for the long winter, and seed for the spring". The school children participated in this venture as well by caring for small, individual gardens.

The school-children's gardens [were] looking well, as [were] the gardens and fields throughout the settlement; so that in this comparatively unfavourable clime [sic] industry [met] with its rewards; but what [was] best of all, and infinitely more important, [was], the advancement of the people in the things of God.⁵³

The missionaries' industry was bearing fruit among all ages and the natives themselves sought to extend to their "heathen" brethren the benefits of such civilization and Christianity.⁵⁴

The Rossville school experiment helped produce these fruits for harvest. The school was under the care of Thomas Hassell until his death and was

in a prosperous state ... [The] school-examination [was] not uninteresting, particularly the addresses delivered by our native brethren ... The school consists of nearly sixty children, about half of whom read and write both English and Indian [presumably the syllabic method for the Indian language]: the others are spelling and reading easy lessons. Religious truth constitutes a large portion of their instruction; the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, in both languages are familiar to all of them, and our own Catechisms are repeated by all advanced boys and girls. They are improving in their knowledge of arithmetic and [Evans was] making arrangements for their continued instruction during the absence of Thomas Hassell ...⁵⁵

Other than academic subjects were taught including industrial training, domestic training for women and carpentry for men, to provide the Rossville Indians with the necessary tools and skills for self-sufficiency. The skills of carpentry would also lessen the mission's reliance on the Company for trained men to build churches, schools, and houses.⁵⁶

With the departure of Evans in 1846, the Rossville mission continued to prosper under Mason's supervision until 1854 when he moved to the C.M.S. mission. In 1848, Rundle, on his voyage back to England, reported on the progress and prospects of Rossville:

What a change in this part since I left it in 1840: Then everything was in a infant state. Now there is an excellent church, Mission House and School House and perhaps about thirty houses connected with the Mission ...⁵⁷

In 1854 Reyerend Thomas Hurlburt, Mason's successor as superintendent of the Hudson Bay mission of the Wesleyan society, concurred with Rundle's 1848 assessment. Hurlburt had had E.R. Young "re-engage" the previous teacher, Mr. Taylor.⁵⁸

Our school-house is ample and very comfortable, as we occupy the printing office in addition to the adjoining room in which the school was formerly kept ...

We commenced school ... with 75 scholars. The average attendace during the summer had between 60 to 70, as shown by the books. I have put two teachers in the school together at present ...59

These descriptions of formal schooling provided by the Wesleyan missionaries to the diverse groups in Rupert's Land illustrate that this activity was an integral part of the missionary's endeavours in Rupert's Land. Formal schooling, similar to catechizing and sermonizing, was an effort to adapt the fort and native children to the new European society and culture which was imposing itself on the north west. For the European element, such schools marked an effort to preserve and to extend the European cultural tradition originally brought to the north west by the fur trade although grafting an essentially industrial mid-nineteenth century model on a pre-industrial late eighteenth century fragment. However, the educational practices of the Wesleyan missionary adapted to the social structure of the fur trade in some instances such as the replication of class-specific schooling, while challenging it in others by the introduction of industrial skills for self-sufficiency among the natives.

Although a wide variety of strategies were employed by the Wesleyan missionaries in the formal schooling activities at their different missions in Rupert's Land, it is difficult to determine their effectiveness with the available documentation. Yet it would seem that in two locations, Norway House and Rocky Mountain House, some "success" was achieved probably due to a more concentrated effort and/or the support

of the Company officers. Another factor for success appeared to be the support of the fur trade employees who had kinship ties with the Indians and no attachments to the Roman Catholic Church.

However, any assessment of the effectiveness of the Wesleyan schooling activities among the native population still remains problematic since there is a lack of written records by natives. Moreover, the lapse of over one hundred and thirty years eliminates the effective use of another historical source, direct oral history interviews among participants or their immediate offspring.

The use of available documents do suggest that the schooling activities were important corollaries to the Wesleyan missionaries' evangelizing duties. The schools gave the missionaries regular audiences with children who could be systematically instructed in the truths of the gospel and, if native, in the intricacies of expression of thought in the written medium. In those two important aspects the schooling activities were as effective as the spoken sermon (through the medium of an interpreter) in the proselytization of the native populations.

References

- ¹Rev. Dr. R. Alder to George Simpson, Feb. 4, 1840, as quoted in Frits Pannekoek, "The Rev. James Evans and the Social Antagonisms of the Fur Trade Society, 1840-1846", in Religion and Society in the Prairie West, ed: Richard Allen (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1974), p. 4. In a letter to his Post Officers, Simpson regarded the Wesleyan missionaries enterprise in the north west as limited to " ... the purpose of affording the blessings of Religious Instruction and Education to the Natives and such other inhabitants as may be desirous of benefitting from the advantages thus heldforth ..." G. Simpson, March 11, 1840, Glenbow Alberta Institute Archives (G.I.A.), film AB.
- ²Pannekoek, "The Rev. James Evans and the Social Antagonists of Fur Trade Society, 1840-1846", p. 3; and Sir George Simpson to Post Officers March 11, 1840: " ... for the purpose of affording the blessings of Religious Instruction and Education to the Natives and such of the other inhabitants as may be desirous of benefitting from the advantages thus heldforth" is the purpose of the Wesleyan Missionaries. G. I.A., film AB James Evans.
- ³Elizabeth Graham, Medicine Man to Missionary: Missionaries as Agents of Change among the Indians of Southern Ontario, 1784-1867 (Toronto, 1975), pp. 72, 73-85.
- ⁴John E. Foster, "The Country-born in the Red River Settlement, 1820-1850". Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1973, pp. 11, 225; and John E. Foster, "The Origins of the Mixed Bloods in the Canadian West", in Essays on Western Canada, ed., L.H. Thomas (Edmonton: 1976), pp. 76-78.
- ⁵George Barnley, Wesleyan Missionary Magazine, 1841, p. 169.
- ⁶G. Barnley, Moose Factory, January 14, 1842, W.M.M., 1843, p. 235.
- ⁷See H.F. Mathews, Methodism and the Education of the People, 1791-1851 (London, 1949), pp. 22-32, 39-50, 175.
- ⁸Barnley, W.M.M., 1841, p. 169.
- ⁹Chief Factor Joseph Bewley to Governor George Simpson, Moose Factory, June 27, 1840, quoted in W.M.M., 1841, pp. 159-60.
- ¹⁰See Robert Rundle journal entries on James "Jimie Jock" Bird. For example, G.M. Hutchinson, "Introduction", The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, ed. H.S. Dempsey (Calgary, 1977), p. li. "Bird interpreted in Blackfoot again, and as usual he 'spoke a little by himself, i believe.'"

¹¹ Peter Jacobs, The Journal of the Rev. Peter Jacobs, Indian Wesleyan Missionary, from Rice Lake to the Hudson's Bay Territory, and Returning. Commencing May, 1852. With a Brief Account of His Life and a Short History of the Wesleyan Mission in that Country. (New York, 1857), p. 46.

¹² G.F.G. Stanley, ed., John Henry Lefroy. In Search of the Magnetic North. A Soldier-Surveyor's Letters From the North-west, 1843-1844 (Toronto, 1955), pp. 50-1.

¹³ See the description of the "Red Men" in the Wesleyan Missionary Magazine, 1841, pp. 157-159.

¹⁴ Margaret MacLeod, "Introduction", The Letters of Letitia Hargrave, ed. Margaret MacLeod (Toronto, 1947), pp. xlii xliii-xlv, lvi; Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Changing Views of Fur Trade Marriage and Domesticity: James Hargrave, his Colleagues, and 'the Sex'," Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, VI:3, 1976; Sylvia Van Kirk, "The Impact of White Women on the Fur Trade" in The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History, eds. S.M. Trofimentoff and A. Prentice (Toronto, 1977); Sylvia Van Kirk, "Women and The Fur Trade", The Beaver, Winter, 1972; Frits Pannekoek, "The Rev. James Evans ...", op. cit.; and Frits Pannekoek, "The Anglican Church and the Disintegration of Red River Society, 1818-1870" in The West and the Nation: Essays in Honour of W.L. Norton, eds. Ramsay Cook and C.C. Berger (Toronto, 1976).

¹⁵ MacLeod, "Introduction", The Letters of Letitia Hargrave, p. liv.

¹⁶ The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, p. 134 ; Evans had taught Rowand's daughters during his visit to Edmonton in December, 1841. James Evans of Eugenia Evans, 1st December 1841, G.I.A., film AB: " ... The Misses Rowands gave me very pleasing employment and made astonishing progress in Reading and writing the Cree [?], as well as Mr. Harriott who I have no doubt is quiet [sic] Master of the Orthography".

¹⁷ The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, p. 134.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 171.

¹⁹ See Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement (Edmonton, 1972), p. 132.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 120.

- ²¹W.M.M., 1850, p. 329.
- ²²The Journal of Reverend Peter Jacobs, p. 41.
- ²³The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, p. 134.
- ²⁴Ibid., p. 173.
- ²⁵Ibid., p. 173.
- ²⁶Ibid., p. 173, 174, 175, 176.
- ²⁷Ibid., pp. 181-186.
- ²⁸Ibid., pp. 197-199, 218.
- ²⁹MacLeod, "Introduction", p. liv.
- ³⁰James Evans, Sept., 1841, W.M.M., Jan. 1843, p. 227.
- ³¹The Letters of Letitia Hargrave, p. 113n.
- ³²William Mason, W.M.M., April 1845, pp. 63-4.
- ³³Nan Shipley, The James Evans Story (Toronto, 1966), p. 121.
- ³⁴T.C.B. Boon, "The Centenary of the Syllabic Cree Bible, 1862-1962", The Bulletin, 1964, pp. 27-34.
- ³⁵James Evans, August 1841, W.M.M., pp. 223-232.
- ³⁶Ibid., p. 228.
- ³⁷The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, pp. xxx.
- ³⁸Ibid., p. 92.
- ³⁹Ibid., p. 94.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 94-5.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 111-112.

⁴² Ibid., pp. 140-1.

⁴³ Rev. George Barnley, Moose Factory, Sept. 23, 1848, W.M.M., 1845, pp. 25-27. See also, Letitia Hargrave to Mrs. Dugald MacTavish, 14th May 1842, Letters of Letitia Hargrave, p. 107; R.F. Harding to James Hargrave, 23 June 1843 (Private), The Hargrave Correspondence, 1821-1843, ed. G.P. de T. Glazebrook (Toronto, 1938), pp. 444-5.

⁴⁴ Letitia Hargrave to Mary MacTavish, 12 Sept. 1843, The Letters of Letitia Hargrave, pp. 166-7.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ W.M.M., 1843, p. 233.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 1841, p. 172; Ibid., Feb. 1845, p. 30; Ibid., May 1845, p. 203.

⁵¹ Ibid., 1841, p. 160.

⁵² J.H. Riddell, Methodism in the Middle West (Toronto, 1949), p. 13.

⁵³ Rev. William Mason, August 20, 1844, W.M.M., 1845, p. 29.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 1844, p. 413.

⁵⁶ See The Hargrave Correspondence, p. 389, for instances of the Company supplying Carpenters to the Mission.

⁵⁷ The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, pp. 316-7.

⁵⁸Rev. Thomas Hurlburt, August 21, 1854, W.M.M., Nov. 1854,
p. 9.

⁵⁹Ibid.

CHAPTER V

Conclusion

In this concluding chapter, some of the problems encountered by the Wesleyan missionaries while they attempted to spread the gospels of Christianity and civilization among the native and fur trade populations of Rupert's Land will be explained including: the contrasting perceptions of the missionary role as held by the fur traders, Indians, and the missionaries; difficulties associated with the changing social structure of the fur trade; conflicts with the Roman Catholic mission enterprises; and problems of integrating theory with practice in the education of the native population.

Within the context of the fur trade, the role of the missionary as well as the character of the Indian, was ambiguous. According to Lewis Saum, from the fur trader's perspective the Indian was both a noble savage and a base, nearly non-human creature. But the fur trader also held out some hope for the native's "improvement"¹ which could occur only in regulated agricultural communities run by missionaries. Yet, the fur trader feared the intervention of the missionary in the processes of improvement despite the desire for the long term Christianization of the Indian.² Hence, the Wesleyan missionaries in Rupert's Land during the mid-nineteenth century encountered the distrust and disapproval of the fur trade while engaged in their efforts to "improve" the Indian through their educational activities. On the other hand, the fur trader supported the Christianization of the Indians as a long-term goal. For the fur trader experience had shown that natives who lived in close proximity to civilization became, with few exceptions,

the most debased and vile creatures. While they recognized the need for some measures to 'improve' the demi-civilized Indian, they were not unanimous in the method to be used.³

Despite Saum's review of the opinions on the role of the missionary,⁴ the fur trader did not speak with one voice on the role of the missionary in this endeavor. Alexander Ross may have wished the Indian to be civilized before he was Christianized,⁵ but other traders "clearly conveyed the hopelessness of Christian indoctrination of the red man".⁶

In addition to the non effect or ill effect of Christianity, experienced traders harboured another conviction that dampened their enthusiasm for converting the Indian. Being creatures of self-interest, the natives often approached religion in a thoroughly pragmatic fashion ... [T]hey considered the missionary's bestowal of Christian blessings as tantamount to success in field and battle. When given the acid test and found lacking, Christianity lost its attraction and the missionary appeared as an impotent herald of a meaningless creed. The Indians then eschewed Christianity and reverted to their traditional beliefs ...⁷

The traders also complained that the missionaries "defamed" the traders to the Indians⁸ and led them away from habits of industry to trifling away their time "in singing and preaching".⁹

However, other fur trade officers perceived the role of the missionary as an important one. James Hargrave thought that the visits of Rev. James Evans to York Factory in 1840-41 had rekindled the Christian faith among his employees as well as encouraging them to learning.¹⁰ Chief Factor Bewley had praised Barnley for his influence among the Company employees and the Indians¹¹ and J.E. Harriott of Rocky Mountain House assisted Rundle to such a great extent that it is evident he approved of Rundle's mission. Simpson had believed that the Wesleyan

Missionaries could ameliorate the conditions of the northern Indians by teaching them agriculture and some self-sufficiency "and relieve the Company of the burden of feeding the starving native. As well, [the missionary] could inculcate morality and render the Indian sufficiently literate to undertake some of the minor details of the Company business".¹² More importantly, the missionary could relieve the pressures of Indian migration on the Red River colony by attracting the natives to a "civilized life" at Rossville - Norway House.¹³

The native people's perception of the roles of the Wesleyan missionary is more difficult to ascertain. Undoubtedly, similar to the dichotomies presented in the fur traders' views of the Indian and the missionary, the Indian's view of the latter was not monolithic. Some natives viewed the Wesleyan missionary with awe, as they would traditional religious representatives. Rundle was thought to have "came down from heaven in a bit of paper which was opened by one of the Co.'s gentlemen at the Forts & Lo I came out".¹⁴ Evans apparently was also able to capture the attention of the natives.¹⁵

On the other hand, the pragmatism of the Indians with regard to the religion of the Wesleyans was demonstrated by the Slave Indians' disappointment that Rundle was not to open shop for them.¹⁶ Mason apparently had to distribute clothing and food to maintain the attention of the Lac la Pluie Indians¹⁷ and even Evans demonstrated that the fruits of civilization would be available to the Indians who followed his religion and lead.¹⁸

Yet, Evans and Rundle did attract certain Indians to their message. The religious content of Evans' message apparently helped transform Benjamin Sinclair into an effective native missionary. Evans was able

to disrupt the fur trade by insisting that his Indians not travel on Sunday. This influence was not merely related to his "economic" power over the natives but more to his religious and social control over their beliefs and habits.¹⁹

That some Indians including Jesus Christ and the Light,²⁰ and Abbis Shabbish²¹ attempted to co-opt the religious message as presented by the Wesleyan missionaries into a nativistic messianism can be attributed in part to the potential attraction of Christianity to the Indians. Attached as it was to European civilization and the fur trade, Christianity in a sanctioned form, whether Wesleyanism, Catholicism or nativism was a potentially powerful source of information and prescribed behavior.²²

The Wesleyan missionaries were distressed by the Indian attempts to integrate Christianity into native belief systems yet represented the outward habits of Indians in prescribed "civilized" habits as examples of the successes that their educational roles received. They perceived themselves as "Teachers of Religion" in the first instance. However, Christian religion in the Wesleyan tradition was more than a set of beliefs in one god, it was a way of life. The Christian life that was preached and taught to the Rupert's Land Indians by the Wesleyan missionaries was not necessarily opposed to the fur trade but attempted to impose upon the fur trade mid-nineteenth century industrial British values. The Christian life idealized for the Rupert's Land Indians by the Wesleyan Missionaries included European marital arrangements solemnized by the Church; pastoral living (if necessary) supplemented by fishing, the hunt, or labour with the fur trade and industrial occupations; and strict adherence to the teachings of the gospel.

The Wesleyan missionaries did not believe that all Indians were

prepared to accept the "ideal" but some were, particularly those connected to Norway House. Therefore the instruction provided the Indians at Norway House explicitly referred to these goals. Particularly important in the shaping of the Indians toward these goals of civilized life were the strictures placed by Evans on "non-Christian" habits such as Sunday travel, the consumption of alcohol, and "immoral" behavior. To the Indians who were less prepared for a Christian agricultural existence was presented to them as the ideal as were the truths of the gospel. Gradually, some of these latter bands were deemed prepared for a pastoral life and suitable locations were found.²³

Such suitable locations for Indian missions had to fulfil certain requirements: safety for the settlers, proximity to arable lands and a good fishery, and distance from the corruptness of the fur post yet close enough to the post for the Indian settlers to gain some employment. For the fur traders an Indian agricultural mission was a mixed blessing. The parson could provide services on Sunday, school the children, solemnize marriages, and act as a stabilizing influence. On the other hand, a parson and a Christian mission could disrupt the traditional patterns of conducting the fur trade as at Norway House.²⁴

Disrupting the fur trade patterns was not the only charge against the Wesleyan missionaries. Pannekoek, Van Kirk, and Thompson²⁵ note that the imposition of "morality" on fur trade alliances and social structures did not endear the Wesleyans to the fur trade. The Wesleyan missionaries, particularly Evans and Barnley, represented the new standards of British society which had already worked into the fur trade society to some extent.²⁶ However much they perceived themselves as upwardly mobile individuals representing the morals, habits, and

beliefs of the middle classes of Great Britain it is certain that the fur trade officers and their wives, whether European or country-born, did not see the missionaries or their wives as equals. Indeed, a scientific traveller to the north-west, Captain Henry Lefroy of the Toronto Observatory, had nothing good to say of the C.M.S. or W.M.S. missionaries in Rupert's Land and categorized all as "inferior".²⁷

However, Warren defended Protestant "mechanic" missionaries from nineteenth century Britain as important agents for the transmission of English culture and particularly evangelical Protestantism.²⁸

In addition to English class values and conflicts with the fur trade aristocracy, the Wesleyan missionaries also encountered constant problems with Roman Catholic missionaries. Although it is difficult to ascertain which denomination intruded upon the "territories" of the other, it is evident from Lefroy and Rundle that the Roman Catholic missionaries caused great consternation among the Wesleyanism by re-baptizing converts and drawing away from Protestantism other potential converts.²⁹ Mason accused the "Papists" as being one of the five obstacles to the Christianization and civilization of the Lac la Pluie Indians.³⁰ The antagonism between the Wesleyans and the Roman Catholic missionaries was the result of traditional religious conflicts and, more particularly, from the Wesleyan belief that the Roman Catholics did nothing to improve the Indians temporal and, especially, spiritual conditions. The Roman Catholics appeared to teach the Indians meaningless ceremonies and kept them in utter darkness.³¹ Although Lefroy accused the Wesleyans of similar indoctrination,³² the Wesleyan missionaries were convinced that they were instructing the Indians in the truths of the gospel, the knowledge of agricultural pursuits, and the habits of

industrialized and civilized peoples. The effectiveness of the instruction, even among the inhabitants of Rossville is doubtful, although Evans, Mason and Rundle cited outward habits as indicators of inward change of value systems.

Moreover, integrating the theory of instruction of native populations with the practical difficulties encountered in the wilds of Rupert's Land caused continuous problems for the Wesleyan missionaries. While the Wesleyan missionaries were given directions to govern their conduct within the fur trade, documents relating to the method of instruction of native peoples have not become available and it would seem that there were no explicit theories. Yet Beecham's praise of the itinerant method before a House of Commons select committee³³ would suggest that this was the preferred method of contact. Implicitly adherence to this method of contact and the missionaries unfamiliarity with the language and culture of their native client groups caused certain difficulties.

Firstly, the itinerant method of contact would allow the missionary only a relatively short period in which to teach the native listeners the basic tenets of Christian belief and to ensure their comprehension.

Secondly, the itinerant method as practised in the north-west could not ensure a systematic follow-up on the lessons taught. Although Rundle visited the Rocky Mountain House region throughout his stay in Rupert's Land one cannot suggest that he was able to meet with the same individuals regularly until they assumed some control over his tours.³⁴

Reliance on missionary records for much of the information also causes one to doubt whether the natives had fully understood the message.

Unfamiliarity with the language also caused many problems for the

missionary in his instructional duties, as did the Wesleyan views of native culture. All the Wesleyan missionaries attempted to learn the language of their major native clientele. Whereas it would appear that Cree was the major language of communication in the Rupert's Land territories visited by the missionaries, during their learning period the missionaries had to rely on interpreters. Although it would appear from Rundle's correspondence and Lefroy's letters that the Wesleyans did not fully learn the native languages,³⁵ the assistance provided by the interpreters was not always adequate. Rundle was never comfortable with Jimie Jock's interpretations after 1841 because he was sure that James Bird extemporized.³⁶ Whether Jimie Jock Bird added to Rundle's lectures to ensure that the message was culturally relevant to his listeners has not been determined.

Unfamiliarity with cultural traditions of native societies caused much anguish among the Wesleyan missionaries. Ethnocentrism, not the tolerance of a Thomas Simpson,³⁷ characterized the missionaries response to native customs of marriage, revenge, and war. To become a Christian meant that the Indian convert had to become non-Indian to a great extent. While this experience might not have been as severe as conversion experienced by many Indians in America,³⁸ it is evident that the ideal of the pastoral settlement and monogamous marriage which had been solemnized was the message of the missionary and the desire of the converted Indian.³⁹ The Rossville mission can be characterized as the ideal Christian-native community: single family houses, church, school, industrial pursuits.

From the available evidence, it can be suggested that many bands may have perceived the necessary cultural change required to become a

Christian or at least a Wesleyan Christian was too great. Rundle's journal does not analyze the failure of Indians who did not convert and why. However, the desire to remain Indian may have been a factor. Such inferences might be drawn from Mason's letters from Lac la Pluie and C.M.S. missionary Abraham Cowley's experiences at Fairford.⁴⁰

Despite these problems, it is evident that some "success" was experienced by all the missionaries. Mason and Jacobs had their small handful of followers at Lac la Pluie.⁴¹ Reports about the effectiveness of Rundle and Evans have been related often,⁴² and should not be minimized. The two sources of success were the Rossville mission and its development of native catechists and the development of the syllabic code for the Cree dialects. The Rossville Mission was the central station of the Wesleyan mission enterprise and there was one missionary stationed there at all times with an assistant. After 1843 the station had Evans, Mason, Steinhauer, and numerous country assistants. With such a concentration of religious personnel the potential for training native catechists through the local Society was high, yet personality conflicts between Evans and Mason,⁴³ and Evans and the fur trade officers hindered this development. Some native catechists were trained, the most notable being Benhamin Sinclair. More notable "successes" were witnessed in the development of "civilized" habits among the local inhabitants and the Cree syllabic.

The syllabic code for the Cree language partly developed from James Evans' works on native languages in Upper Canada, allowed the Indian population to learn how to read quickly and provided an excellent system for disseminating the gospel. However, the long work of translating the whole Bible, Creed and prayers was not accomplished quickly

and the Wesleyan missionaries translated only passages of scriptures, hymns and prayers in the first instance. These fragmentary pieces of information on Christianity provided the basis for many natives' understanding of the new religion. Yet, if we are to believe Rundle's journals, the little whetted their desire to have more. But, we must wonder why the fragmentary information about Christianity available in the syllabic form for the Indians of Rupert's Land combined with the intermittent sermonizing and supervision of Indian learning provided by the missionaries did not encourage more instances of syncretism than those already noted. It would appear that circumstances were favourable for such movements.

The success of Christian missions to North American Indians have often been questioned. Berkhofer claimed that "After thousands of dollars and hundreds of missionaries, the managers and patrons of the missionary societies had to account their eight decades of efforts among the American Indians as unsuccessful."⁴⁴ Pannekoek claimed that the Wesleyan effort in Rupert's Land was largely unsuccessful.⁴⁵ Rundle had left Rupert's Land for England in 1848 with contrary opinions,⁴⁶ and undoubtedly Evans had perceived his work as beneficial for the natives and had led to their spiritual and temporal improvement.⁴⁷ That the Wesleyan missionaries perceived their work as successful is important.

What is more significant is the view that the native population had of the missionaries' effectiveness as agents of cultural change. Unfortunately, the native response to and perception of the missionary endeavour, which was by no means monolithic, is difficult to ascertain and would require an extensive survey of fur post journals and fur

trader letters and correspondence. More research in the native and fur trader perceptions of the missionary labours in Rupert's Land, along the model provided by Berkhofer, would be an asset to fur trade historiography.

However, much like the fur trader and the natives of Rupert's Land, this researcher can not conclude that success was the norm in Rupert's Land but must maintain an ambivalent attitude. The Wesleyan missions of Rupert's Land did succeed in bringing the gospel of Christianity and the habits of European civilization to the Indians of the north-west, and converting a significant number, although not as many as the Wesleyan Missionary Society and the missionaries might have wished. Where there had been more concentrated efforts, there appears to have been a greater response to the missionaries' messages. Moreover, certain missionaries and methods of evangelizing were more effective than others in achieving the aims of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. However, because of the Wesleyans' own broad definition of education, any overall assessment of the impact of their educational activities must consider their intermediary role in the fur trade relationships with both the Hudson's Bay Company and the native peoples. Whereas these missionaries spread an understanding of Christian principles, they also on occasion offered a lifestyle predicated on those principles which might have lessened the natives' dependence on the vagaries of the fur trade. In conclusion, a definitive assessment of the missionaries' educational activities within these social relationships is hindered by the dearth of historical sources which would clearly reflect the reaction of the predominant client group - the native peoples.

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- ¹ Lewis Saum, The Fur Trader and the Indian (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965), pp. 226-245. This chapter not only considers the fur traders' desire to improve the Indian but also the fur traders' opinion of various methods of improvement.
- ² Ibid., pp. 240, 242; and Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement: Its Rise, Progress, and Present State. With Some Account of the Native Races and Its General History, to the Present Day (London: 1856), Ch. xix-xx.
- ³ Ross, op. cit.; Saum, pp. 226-245; and John West, The Substance of a Journal During a Residence at the Red River Colony, British North America, and Frequent Excursions Among the North-West American Indians in the Years, 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823 (London: 1826) illustrated this problem.
- ⁴ Saum, pp. 226-245.
- ⁵ Ibid., pp. 236-240 and Ross, op. cit.
- ⁶ Saum, p. 242; and Ross, op. cit.
- ⁷ Saum, p. 238.
- ⁸ Ibid., pp. 240-241.
- ⁹ Ibid., p. 240.
- ¹⁰ Ibid., p. 241. See also John Rowand to James Hargrave, June 20, 1843 in The Hargrave Correspondence, 1821-1843, ed. G.P. de T. Glazebrook (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1938), p. 441.
- ¹¹ Margaret A. MacLeod, The Letters of Letitia Hargrave (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1947), p. lv.
- ¹² Frits Pannekoek, "The Reverend James Evans and the Social Antagonisms of the Fur Trade Society, 1840-1846", in Religion and Society in the Prairie West, ed. Richard Allen (Regina, 1974), p. 3.
- ¹³ However, Donald Ross in a letter to James Hargrave, dated 31 December 1841, doubted the attraction of Norway House to the Swampies. " ... -The subject of the Swampies emigrating upwards, is one which I fear is beyond remedy - a few of the low country Indians came up last

fall, some of them passed on to the settlement and one or two I believe are loitering about the village here - Red River will in the end, I think, swallow the whole, it has many enticements for the Indians which this place does not present, not the least important of which is the circumstance, that there, they can Liquify themselves to their hearts content". Glazebrook, The Hargrave Correspondence, 1829-1843, p. 367.

¹⁴G.M. Hutchinson, "Introduction", in The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, ed. H.A. Dempsey (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta and the Alberta-Glenbow Institute, 1977), p. xxv.

¹⁵See E.R. Young, Apostle of the North: Rev. James Evans (Toronto, 1900) and The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, pp. 32, 92.

¹⁶Hutchinson, "Introduction", The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, p. xxiv.

¹⁷W.M.M., 1843, p.232.

¹⁸Pannekoek, "The Reverend James Evans and the Social Antagonisms of the Fur Trade Society, 1840-1846", pp. 11-12.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 11 and James Evans to Secretaries of Wesleyan Missionary Society, Aug. 1841, Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, Jan. 1843, pp. 228-9.

²⁰Rev. George Barnley to Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, Sept. 1843, Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1845, pp. 25-6.

²¹See Appendix D, R.F. Harding to James Hargrave, 23rd June 1843; and Letitia Hargrave to Mary MacTavish, York Factory, 12th September 1843, The Letters of Letitia Hargrave, pp. 166-7.

²²The fact that the Indians attached to Christian religion certain behavioral traits can be seen in the letters of certain fur traders. For example, see R.F. Harding to James Hargrave, 23rd June 1843: "Am sorry to learn that Your Indians under the mistaken idea of Christianity have lost some of their industrious habits and trifle away their time in singing & preaching when they ought to be hunting wherewith to clothe & feed their naked miserable women and children. Their notions as You were pleased to observe are indeed crude and in every way inconsistent with religion ...", The Hargrave Correspondence, 1829-1843, p. 444.

²³See Rundle's journals for explanations of the difficulties encountered in searching for such a location and in overcoming the resistance of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, pp. 127, 133-4, 229, 255, 276.

²⁴Pannekoek, op. cit.

²⁵Ibid.; Sylvia Van Kirk, "Women and the Fur Trade," The Beaver, Winter, 1972, p. 8; A.N. Thompson, "John West: A Study of the Conflict Between Civilization and the Fur Trade," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, 1970, pp.

²⁶Van Kirk, op. cit., pp. 20-21; Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Changing Views of Fur Trade Marriage and Domesticity: James Hargrave, His Colleagues, and 'the Sex'", Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, 6:3, pp. 92-103; and Margaret A. MacLeod, "Introduction", The Letters of Letitia Hargrave, pp. Iv-lvi.

²⁷G.F.G. Stanley, ed., John Henry Lefroy. In Search of the Magnetic North. A Soldier-Surveyor's Letters from the North-West, 1843-44 (Toronto: MacMillan, 1955), p. 27. See Appendix B.

²⁸Max Warren, Social History and Christian Mission (London: 1965), pp. 36-57.

²⁹Stanley, John Henry Lefroy. In Search of the Magnetic North. A Soldier-Surveyor's Letters from the North-West, 1843-1844. pp. 151, 153-4. Rundle was not gracious or imbued with Christian charity when he described the work of the Roman Catholic missionaries. Dempsey, The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, pp. 127-129, 133, 148, 157, 178. See James Evans Journal, August, 1841, Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, January, 1843, p. 79, on impact of Roman Catholic Missionaries at Shoal-Fort.

³⁰William Mason to Secretaries of Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, August 10, 1840, Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1841, pp. on the issue Mason noted that:

"1. We have to contend with Popery. Mr. Belcouer, the Catholic Priest of Red River, has lately visited Fort Alexander, Rat-Portage, and Lac-la-Pluie; and has succeeded in poisoning the minds of the poor, ignorant Indians against Protestantism. The mischief he has done ... is incalculable".

³¹Ross's analysis of the conflict between the missionaries emphasizes this argument. Ross, The Red River Settlement ..., pp. 285-296.

³²Stanley, John Henry Lefroy. In Search of the Magnetic North. A Soldier-Surveyor's Letters from the North-West, 1843-44, pp. 50-1, 27.

³³Findlay, pp. 462-63.

- ³⁴Dempsey, The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, pp. xliii-xliv.
- ³⁵Stanley, John Henry Lefroy. In Search for the Magnetic North. A Soldier-Surveyor's Letters from the North-West, 1843-1844, pp. 51-4.
- ³⁶Dempsey, The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, p. 11.
- ³⁷Saum, The Fur Trader and the Indian, pp. 226-245.
- ³⁸See Robert Berkhofer, Jr., Salvation and the Savage (Kentucky, 1965), Chapters IV, VI, VII. 1965), Chapters IV, VI, VII.
- ³⁹For examples of these phenomena see Robert Rundle's journals for 1846 to 1848. Dempsey, The Rundle Journals, 1840-1848, pp. Evans insisted that the natives living in his settlement conform to the teachings of the gospel, the habits of civilized life, and the forms of European culture.
- ⁴⁰W.M.M., 1841, pp. 172-3 ; and M.E.J., Dayspring in the Far West - Sketches of Mission Work in North West America (London, 1875), pp. 24-5.
- ⁴¹W.M.M., 1841, pp. 172-3; W.M.M., Jan. 1843, pp. 232-3.
- ⁴²For Rundle's stories see Hutchinson, op. cit.; Rev. J.P. Berry, Rundle in Alberta, 1840-1848 - To honor the Memory of a Pioneer, ed. Rev. Clio Jackson (The United Church of Canada, 1940); and Muriel Beaton Patterson, Messenger of the Great Spirit - Robert Terrill Rundle (New York: Friendship Press 1947; republished 1961). For Evans' story see Nan Shipley, The James Evans Story (Toronto, Ryerson, 1966); E.R. Young, The Apostle of the North - Rev. James Evans (New York and Toronto, Fleming H. Revell Co., 1899); and numerous articles and books.
- ⁴³Apparently the problems between Evans and Mason were long-standing. See Letitia Hargrave to Mrs. Dugald MacTavish, 14 September 1843, in The Letters of Letitia Hargrave, pp. 176-7. Apparently matters grew worse during the years of co-working at Rossville. See Letitia Hargrave to Florence MacTavish, 9 September 1844., Ibid., p. 188.
- ⁴⁴Berkhofer, Salvation and the Savage, p. 152.
- ⁴⁵Pannekoek, "The Rev. James Evans and the Antagonisms of the Fur Trade Society, 1840-1846", p. 10.
- ⁴⁶Dempsey, The Rundle Journals, 1840-48, p.

⁴⁷Peter Jacobs' review of the development of Rossville and its state in 1852 would concur that the social and religious conditions of the Indians had undergone great improvement. Although not all locations were as favourably situated as Rossville, the success of one mission held out room for hope. Peter Jacobs, Journal of the Reverend Peter Jacobs, Indian Wesleyan Missionary, from Rice Lake to the Hudson's Bay territory, and returning. Commencing May, 1852. With a brief account of his life, and a short history of the Wesleyan mission in that country (New York: The author, 1857), pp. 90-5. See Wm. Mason to W.M.S. Secretaries, December 20, 1848, Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1849, pp. 892f.

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APPENDIX A

Extract from the "Missionary Notices ...", Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1841, pp. 157-160.

British North America

New Missions to the Indians in the Territories Belonging to the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company.

"The Red Men of the Far West have suffered as much as, if not more than, any other class belonging to the coloured portion of the human family, from the conduct of their white brethren towards them. The loss of those extensive territorial possessions, of which they were at one period the undisputed occupants, is at least in that catalogue of evils which they have long been the uncomplaining victims. Calamities worse even than those connected with a state of slavery have been permitted to overtake them, and have 'minished and brought low', a people susceptible of the highest degree of improvement in everything connected with the real dignity and happiness of man.

A brighter day is beginning to dawn upon the 'remnant that is left'. Christian sympathy has been awakened in their behalf, and has been followed by well-directed efforts to promote the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Indian tribes residing within and beyond the colonies subject to the British crown, in North America. ... Throughout the possessions belonging to the Honourable the Hudson's Bay Company, which include extensive portions of the north-western section of America, a large Indian population is scattered, for the religious instruction of which but little has as yet been accomplished.

George Simpson, Esq., Governor-in-Chief in and over the Company's

territories, having had his attention directed to the state of the Indian Missions in Canada, under the care of the Wesleyan Missionary Committee, first by Dr. Alder, one of the General Secretaries, and, afterwards, by the Rev. James Evans, who, with other agents, had been appointed to one of the Company's establishments on the shores of the Great Lake Superior; he, immediately after his return to England, at the close of the year 1839, made such representations to the Directors of the Hudson's Bay Company, as induced them to invite and encourage the Society to extend their Missions to the territories of the Company, and to certain districts of country beyond the limits of those territories, with a view to the moral and religious instruction of the numerous tribes of aborigines, and to their civilization, and the general amelioration of their conditions. ... [F]ive Missionaries and one Indian Assistant Missionary are now actually employed in this sacred service. ...

I. Moose-Factory ... is the Company's principal depot on the southern shores of Hudson's Bay. Connected with this establishment, there are numerous stations to which the Missionary will have to pay periodical visits; some of which are at a distance from the Fort, varying from one hundred to two hundred and fifty miles. ...

III. Lac-la-Pluie is a trading-port of the Company ... The neighbourhood of this place is a great rendezvous for Indians from the surrounding country, during the summer, as the means of living on fish and wild rice are very abundant so that, including the inmates of the establishment, the Missionary will be in communication at that place, during an important period of the year, with at least one thousand adults; in addition to which he will, at stated seasons, visit other depots belonging to the Company, for the purpose of instructing the mixed population

residing at these stations.

IV. Fort Alexander is formed at the outlet of the river Winnipeg, ... It is much frequented by the Indians; who, as well as those that visit Lac-la-Pluie, belong to the Ojibewa or Salteaux tribes.

V. Edmonton ... The Missionary will extend his labours from them to the Athabaska river ... The establishments in that remote district are frequented by the bold and daring Prairie or Plain tribes of Indians, including the Assiniboines, the Peigans, the Sarcees, and the Blood Indians. The Thickwood Crees and Assiniboines amount, with the whites and mixed population attached to the station, to between fifteen and twenty thousand souls.

VI. Norway House, one of the principal depots belonging to the Company, is situated at the northern end of Lake Winnipeg, ... There is an Indian village connected with this place, the inhabitants of which derive great advantages from the proximity to the Company's establishment, where the Indians, who are part of the Swampy Cree tribe, find permanent employment as fishermen, boatmen, and labourers. As Norway-House is a central point, it is intended that it shall be the residence of the General Superintendent of these Missions, who will be able from thence to communicate with, and to visit, the other stations with greater facility than from any other part of the territory.

...
Extract of a Despatch from Chief Factor Duncan Finlayson, ... June 24, 1840

"We are exceedingly glad to find that an arrangement, promising so many blessings to the native population, has been effected with the Wesleyan Missionary Society. This is another instance, among many, of your Honours' bounty and liberality towards increasing the means of diffusing

Christian knowledge among the natives of this country; and we trust your repeated endeavours for their temporal and spiritual improvement will be appreciated by them, and attended with all the advantages which you so earnestly desire. The field for Missionaries in this country is wide; and if they perform their duties with patience and piety, as faithful Ministers of the Gospel, they will have the satisfaction of seeing their labours crowned with success. They shall have our protection, and every personal kindness and attention in our power ...

Extract of a Letter from Chief Factor Joseph Bewley, ... June 27, 1840.

"The Rev. Mr. Barnley, Wesleyan Missionary, arrived here ... Divine service has been performed regularly, and well attended, twice a day upon Sundays since his arrival. A school has been established, which is attended five days a week, for a short time in the forenoon, by sundry of the young people of both sexes; and the Indians, male and female, receive, through the medium of interpreters, instructions or discourses from the Rev. Gentleman five days a week for a short time in the afternoon of each day. An hour in the evening of Sunday, namely, from six to seven o'clock, is also devoted to the instruction of the Indians; and in every respect there exists the utmost willingness to hear and to understand, on the part of all the population of the island, whether residents or casual visitors [sic], and whether Europeans and their descendants, or the pure native Indians.

"the erection of a chapel shall be commenced as soon as practicable ..."

APPENDIX B

Extract from a letter by J.H. Lefroy to Sophia Lefroy, Norway House, August 8, 1848 in John Henry Lefroy. In Search of the Magnetic North. A Soldier-Surveyor's Letters from the North-West, 1843-1844, ed. G.F.G. Stanley (Toronto, 1955), pp. 150-1.

"The school children amounting to 60 were soon got together although it was seven oclock in the Evening, and we heard them read and spell and sing in Indian and English, they are Crees, their language is a pretty one, the astonishing thing was to hear them repeat long Exercises, such as the Creed, sing hymns, read the Testament &c. in English: not one word of which any of them understand. The missionary wishes to prepare the way for their learning the language but I think goes too far. One little boy repeated the Lords Prayer perfectly in English, putting in the stops correctly, varying the tone in perfect imitation of an intelligent speaker, yet could not say it in his own language: in fact the teacher who is a Chipewyan Indian seemed to have the same sort of pride in their proficiency that a bird fancier has in an ingenious collection of piping bullfinches".

APPENDIX C

Rev. George Barnley's methods of instruction were exactly similar to those that J.H. Lefroy condemned. This extract from Barnley's correspondence of Sept. 23, 1843, W.M.M., 1845, pp. 24-5, demonstrated the rote method of instruction.

"The plan of inducing the natives to commit to memory those important summaries of divine truth, the Decalogue and the Lord's Prayer, by ranging them in rows, and assigning one sentence to each person consecutively, till the whole is disposed of, - and which I mentioned having adopted with some advantage at Albany last year, - has been pursued elsewhere with the same, or rather enlarged, success.

APPENDIX D

Native messianism was a problem encountered during the early 1840's by the Rev. George Barnley at Albany and Moose and Chief Trader James Hargrave at York Factory. The two extracts demonstrate the impact of this movement on the aborigines.

George Barnley, 23 September, 1843, W.M.M., 1845, pp. 25-6.

Two hymns (printed probably by Mr. Evans, but certainly be some person familiar with evangelical truth and poetic numbers) were in circulation among the Indians at York Factory, and thence found their way to Severn House. The natives there laboured earnestly to obtain a knowledge of them; and the truths thus communicated so engrossed their attention, that the mysteries of the Indian Magi rapidly sank in public estimation, and the conjurors saw that the hope of their gains was gone. One, however, more subtle than the rest, like Mahomet, conceived the idea of amalgamating those portions of revelation which had come to his knowledge, with the crafty fabrications of his own mind, aided by an efficient confederate, that the declining dominion of darkness might be not only saved from irretrievable ruin, but even exalted on the fragments of truth.

These two individuals consequently withdrew from the society of others, for the purpose of maturing their plans; and, after being absent some length of time, presented themselves before their countrymen as extraordinary messengers from heaven. The first of the two hymns referred to above commenced with an allusion to light; the second, to our blessed Saviour. Of these circumstances the imposters availed themselves, to augment their influence; one calling himself Wasetek, "Light"; the other assuming the sacred name of "Jesus Christ". Their recent

absence was accounted for by the announcement of certain visits having been made both to the regions of future blessedness, and to those of future woe. A chart was produced, exhibiting representations of a path which branched off in two directions, passing by the sun, moon, &c.; the one leading to heaven, and the other to hell. A sensual Paradise was described, dressed up in all the furniture likely to be produced by, and to fascinate, an Indian imagination: deer were innumerable, amazingly fat, gigantic, and delicious beyond description. They proceeded so far as to describe the person of that God who is a Spirit, "whom no man hath seen, or can see, and live". A splendid mansion, extensive enough to contain all the Indians, but designed for them alone, and abundantly supplied with every source of enjoyment, was stated to be in course of preparation, and to be let down from heaven in a few years; and, as if dreading lest some measures of a coercive kind should be resorted to for the purpose of checking their proceedings, consequences the most terrible, involving something like the destruction of the world, were denounced, if any person dared to interfere with them. Had these statements originated among any of those natives who have been visited by the Ministers of God's word, the presumption is, that their authors would have been regarded with cold suspicion, or treated at once as impudent imposters; but their position was so favourable for directing every ray of light which had reached them on the path of their own invention, without any person at hand to detect and expose the cheat, that their countrymen seem to have greedily devoured it; the credit of the false prophets was firmly established, and the people were so enraptured with their new heaven, that day and night their tongues were employed in chanting the praises of those fertile

regions, with their exhaustless abundance of berries and animals, as set forth in the attempted poesy of their great "light"; who with his coadjutor has abandoned the mean employment of hunting and trade, finding the contributions exacted from the hopes or fears of their deluded votaries sufficient for their support.

A Missionary zeal was awakened in the bosoms of an old woman and a youth, who took up their residence among the Albany Indians, and soon introduced their chart, with all the enchanting revelations of the new system; and the poor people were almost universally carried away with the delusion; children and parents, having laid aside the appropriate appellations, addressed each other as brother and sister, and other extravagancies were generally prevalent. To the chief-trader, G. Barnston, Esq., the Mission is deeply indebted for a prompt and earnest exposure of these wicked devices, which resulted in the old sybil's consenting to the demolition of her valued book, and in the discontinuance of many of the prevailing follies. They unanimously declared their renunciation of the "false Christ" by a show of hands; and one elderly female, who may be supposed to have expressed the sense of the rest, said, "I think we have all been very foolish".

R.F. Harding to James Hargrave, 23 June 1843, in The Hargrave Correspondence, ed. G.P. de T. Glazebrook (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1938), pp. 443-45.

That the North river anti-christian mania was on the decline am happy to learn, but rather doubt if yet actually extinct, for tis not an easy matter for the whites discovering the opinions of the scamps who are both rogues & cunning enough to appear convinced without being sincere and tis only from other Indians that this can be learned, and

that only at times by soundings deep otherwise in an apparent indirect manner and which few Indians are proof against in most instances - Am sorry to learn that Your Indians under the mistaken idea of Christianity have lost some of their industrious habits and trifle away their time in singing & preaching when they ought to be hunting wherewith to clothe & feed their naked miserable women and children. Their notions as You were pleased to observe are indeed crude and in every way inconsistent with religion as I understand it, and that is explicit is spurring us up to industry and our duties to our Maker and fellow Men, that can be done with less cant & hypocrisy than many of our country-men well as the Indians seem impressed with in the many sects that society is split in these days of innovation & changes I had one of those singing gentry employed here last summer who seemed to have no little conceit of his charming voice and fanaticism and of which I soon tired & put a stop to it by sending him adrift, telling him there was a time to work well as to sing & preach and that I considered such as a mere mockery of religion and that more especially since he could not comprehend fully what he was so much taken up with, this had the desired effect of putting an end to it, and I have seen or heard nothing of the kind since. So far otherways our Crees continue paying every attention to what I can find time to teach them, and moreover are equally industrious and far more obedient than I ever knew them to be. ... we having among other matters made know to them that this was wrong, independent of these matters I have made alphabets for our Indians which many have learned from the children & others of the Establishment and there is far more application for them than I can possibly comply with, and this brings to my mind to enquire if there are any cheap Books at the Factory fit

for the purpose intended and that could be sent for so laudable a purpose as giving the poor Indians the means of being instructed by such persons as have time & ability for the purpose and there are such at Churchill. --